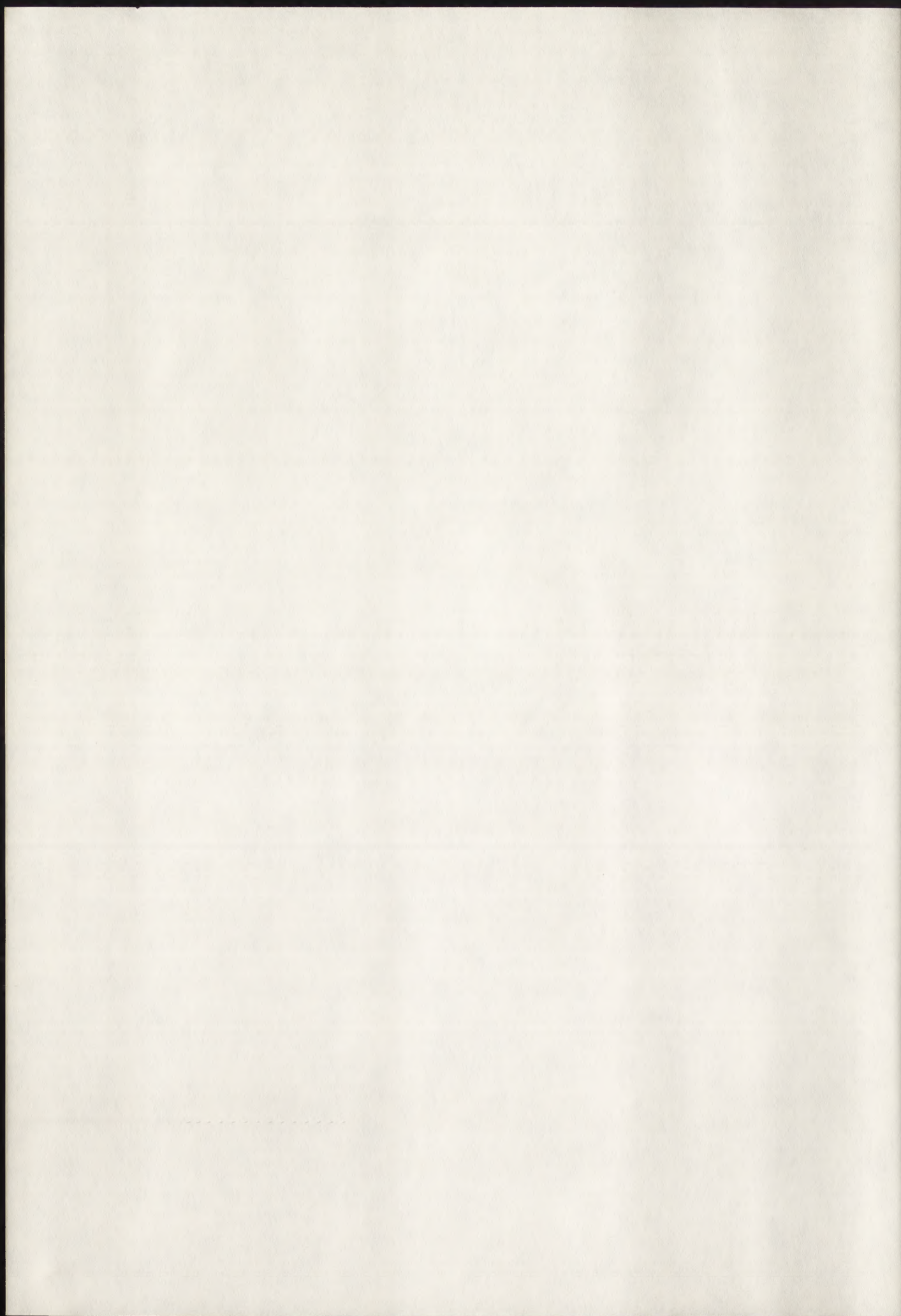
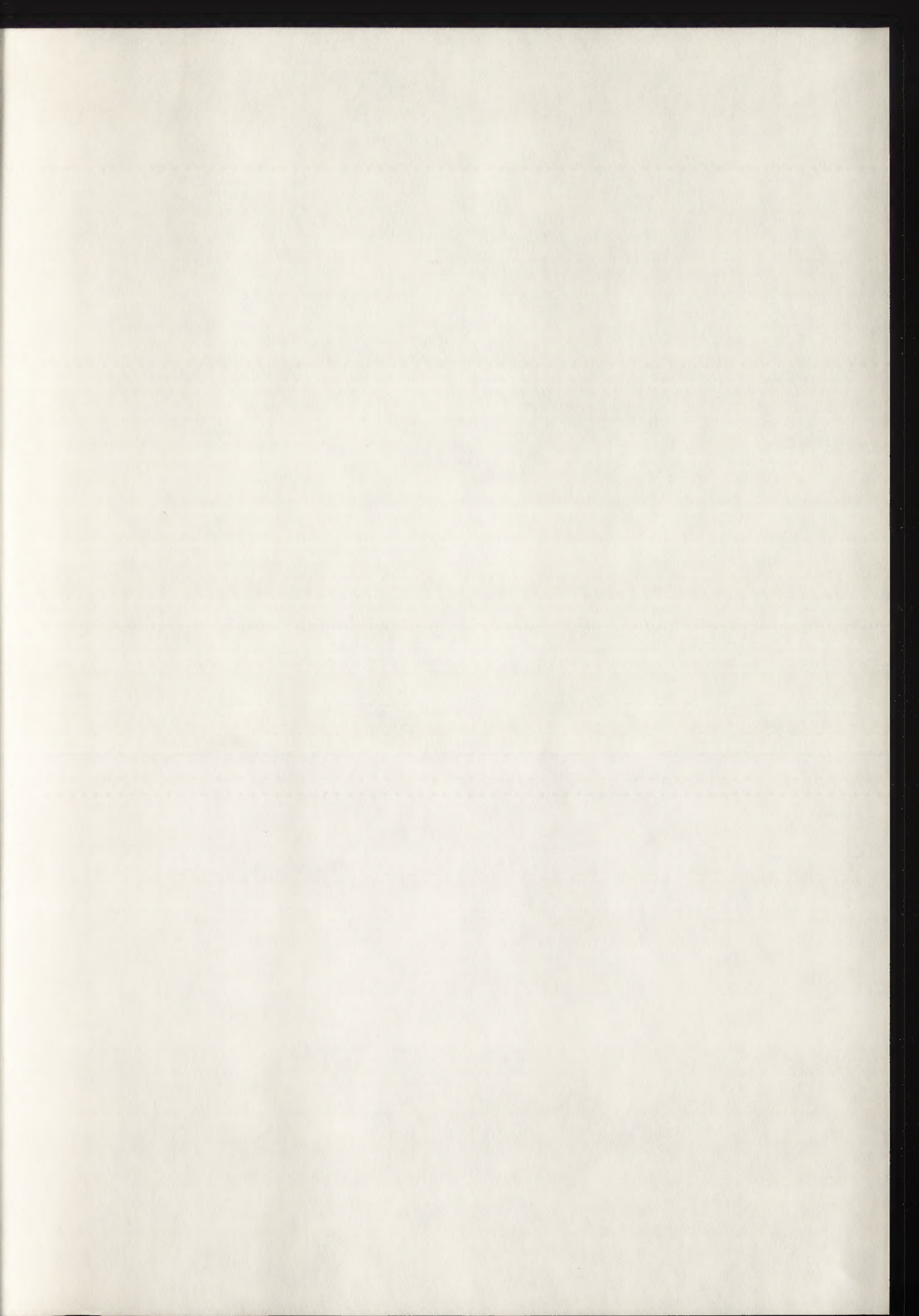


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ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY

VOLUME SIX

EDITED BY
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN



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SEVENTEEN-NINETY BROADWAY
MCMXVIII

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FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN



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JEROME BOSCH: ADORATION OF THE MAGI
COLLECTION OF MR. JOHN G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA





ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME VI NUMBER I · DECEMBER MCMXVII

PAINTINGS BY JEROME BOSCH IN AMERICA · BY
FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

EXCEPT in Spain, where he was eagerly bought and copiously plagiarized, Hieronymus van Aeken, better known as Jerome Bosch, has never risen to the ranks of a favorite artist. If America is now fairly rich in his works, the fact is due to the zeal of a single American, the late Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia. Indeed Bosch, with all his power and his somewhat sinister fascination, has distinct disadvantages from the collector's point of view. Of his personality and life we know next to nothing, except that he was active at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The researches of Justi, Glück, Dollmayr, Gossart and Lafond have not succeeded in identifying his master, in telling where he may have worked or traveled outside of his native town of Hertogenbosch, or even in establishing a sure canon of his authentic works. All that is certain is that he was a great master in diabolism and caricature, and a potent influence for a half-century after his death. Pictures ascribed to Bosch have to be taken quite at their face value. This will be my aim in describing the Bosches which have found their way to America. Generally my remarks must be purely topical, for we have small holding ground either in chronology or in minuter connoisseurship of authenticity.

What seems to be the earliest Bosch on my list is the delightful little Adoration of the Magi (Lafond, No. 2), formerly in the Lippman Collection, Berlin, and now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 1). Bosch has accepted the monumental arrangement of the theme which we find in Rogier de La Pasture and Memling. One would expect him to grasp at the more informal arrangement preferred by Hugo Van der Goes. We may almost infer that the versions of Van der Goes were unknown to Bosch, whereas it is pretty certain that he saw late Rogiers of the type of the Munich Epiphany.

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But, while accepting the central position of the Madonna, and, in the gold cloth of honor, retaining the tradition of the throne, Bosch has done everything to deformalize the theme. He gains a familiar quality simply by reducing the scale of the figures. Instead of the stately Romanesque pavilion of Rogier and Memling, we have a fine ruin of a castle panoramically displayed in the background. The Madonna becomes rustic and housewifely rather than a virginal princess. The three kings become grotesque mimes, true denizens of a fairy tale. The landscape is simplified and in its somewhat bleached tonality suggests actual observation and velleities of *pleinairisme*. In every way it is a compromise between the monumentality proper to the earlier Burgundian masters and the drastic rusticity which was Bosch's contribution to the new manner. His endeavor seems parallel to the nearly contemporary innovations of Van der Goes and Dirk Bouts and quite independent of them. If I am right in setting this Epiphany no later than 1480, it should be one of Bosch's earliest works.

Not much later, perhaps, Bosch perfected that rustic type of the Epiphany which we find best represented in the famous triptych of the Prado (Lafond, 1). The scene is a crumbling, thatched cattle shed. Peering yokels spy from the roof and through the chinks in the wall, while the kings are incongruously worshipful amid so much squalor. Joseph is no longer in the picture. The Madonna is set at the right so that the Magi approach in a rather processional way. Lafond catalogues no less than seven variants of this famous picture, to which may be added the interesting version in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Fig. 2). It differs chiefly from the Prado version in shortening the panel, lowering the very high horizon to a more credible position below the gable of the barn, and raising to the level of the Virgin's head the height of the gap through which the shepherds peer. On the whole, the picture gains from these changes. An intermediate version of inferior quality, with the horizon slightly lowered but still higher than the gable, is in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam and pictured in Lafond. The delicate quality of the Johnson picture justifies us in regarding it as a studio replica executed in great part by the artist himself.

Bosch loved to play upon the theme of the Epiphany. In the church of Anderlecht, near Brussels, Lafond notes a variant of the



Fig. 1. JEROME BOSCH: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 2. JEROME BOSCH: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

Prado piece. The Madonna is shifted to the left, the Moorish king is behind her, while she faces the other two. The Child reaches more eagerly for the gifts. This may be a middle stage towards Bosch's most eager and intimate version of the theme which we find again in the Johnson Collection (Plate). The Virgin is more peasant-like and motherly. The Child reaches eagerly for the reliquary, which is fairly thrust upon him by the kneeling foremost Mage. The other two kings quietly await their turn. The Moorish king at the right is no longer in magisterial gown, but caparisoned like a courtier, with the Miracle of the Manna embroidered on his wide sleeve. Old Joseph rubs his bewildered head. The two shepherds are no longer outrageously spying, but modestly looking away. The grange has become a mere shed, with no insistence on its disorder. Birds enliven the roof and upper window spaces, and at the two sides there is a lovely glimpse of pasture landscape with distant church spires. All the restless elements in Bosch's earlier versions of the Epiphany have been smoothed out. The grotesque features are not over-emphasized. As a pure bit of rural idyllism it is as complete in its way as his little Adoration of the Shepherds at Cologne. The workmanship is exquisite, with the most delicate iridescences. We can unhesitatingly affirm the autographic character of the picture. It is odd that so accomplished a piece should not have produced the usual fringe of copies.

Closely allied to these Epiphany pictures are two little panels recently acquired by Mr. Johnson. They undoubtedly formed the wings of a triptych of which the central panel was an Adoration of the Magi. From the left two shepherds with their dog approach (Fig. 3) the scene. One with a pipe is already kneeling and awkwardly turned towards his fellow, who is capped and mittened against the winter cold. Others are coming through the door. The setting is good Romanesque, after the tradition of the Van Eycks and Rogier de la Pasture. The mood is simple and reverent without that accentuation of grimace which is common in the mature works. The companion panel (Fig. 4) shows the cavalcade of the Magi following the star. The sense of solicitude is well conveyed. Again the characterization falls short of caricature. All these traits seem to point to a very early period in Bosch's development, and the rather coarse and uncertain execution might either suggest a juvenile work or the aid of a studio assistant. The dimensions may some

day permit these interesting pieces to be associated with their now missing central panel. They do not closely agree with any extant Epiphanies in the milieu of Bosch.

In work of this idyllic and rustic inspiration Bosch is more ingratiating than original. It was a mood that he shared with other contemporaries. It was his diabolism that won him fame and made his school. Even in the sixteenth century it was difficult to distinguish between the real Bosches and the imitation. A Spanish connoisseur, Don Felipe de Guevara, warns amateurs against the more extravagant and grotesque inventions which usurped the master's name. As the most drastic picture of this ambiguous type which has reached America, we may consider the Christ before the People, of the Johnson Collection (Fig. 6). It is recorded as No. 9 in Lafond's catalogue, and he lists numerous variants. I know of no picture that has more forcefully caught the wolf-like character of the human pack. Jackal-like might be an even truer word for the way in which this Jewish mob yelps for innocent blood. It is the moment when the crowd howls "Crucify Him!" The decorative quality of the panel in its firmly stamped lights of faces, and darks of tunnel, columns and weapons is both startling and effective. Very skilful, too, is the subordination of the scene at the left, where the murder of the Christ is plotted. The group is almost more sinister in its malign eagerness than the more bestial violence of the throng.

It is precisely the abandon of this extraordinary little picture that makes me doubt if it be a Bosch. In his sure works he is never frenetic; on the contrary, somewhat detached and calculating. In the Bearing of the Cross, at Ghent, in the various versions of the Crowning with Thorns, in the Christ before Pilate, at Princeton—and equally so in the purely fantastic pieces—Bosch reveals himself as a cool intelligence. He calculates his nightmares in order to perturb us, but is himself little perturbed. He thinks out his horrors quite lucidly, and never lets himself go. The Johnson picture seems to me to be by a more expansive nature. We have a man swayed and exalted by the horror of his own inventions. It is the abandon of the mood that counts, and it is a mood quite lacking in a true Bosch. His creation is purely cerebral. Since no convincing analysis of the numerous imitators of Bosch has ever been made, the attribution of this work, despite its distinctive tang, must be doubtful. I only feel sure that if the Fantastic Landscape, in the Prado,



Figs. 3 and 4. TWO WINGS OF A TRIPTYCH.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.





Fig. 5. JEROME BOSCH: MOCKING OF CHRIST.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson,
Philadelphia.



Fig. 6. JEROME BOSCH(?): CHRIST BEFORE
THE PEOPLE.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson,
Philadelphia.



Fig. 7. JEROME BOSCH: CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.
Art Museum of Princeton University. Property of Prof. Allan Marquand.



ascribed to Peter Huys, is really by that master, then the Johnson picture is also by Huys. Both in physiognomy and accessories the pictures are linked as the work of one mind and hand.

A most characteristic Bosch is the Mocking of Christ in the Johnson Collection (Fig. 5). Lafond lists it as No. 6. The little known version in the Antwerp Gallery has a portrait of an ecclesiastic donor looking placidly out of the picture. From the omission of this feature Mr. Johnson's picture gains concentration. Yet concentration is only relative in such a work. Physiognomy is what counts. Not much more is intended than the contrast between the resignation of the Christ and the servile malice of his mockers. There is complete waiver of anything like decorative effect, and only study of the faces will establish a sufficient psychological unity of impression. It is a picture that especially well illustrates that coldness and detachment in Bosch which we have already noted. It is one of the most placid Christs Mocked which we have in art, and perhaps the least overtly pathetic. Bosch envisages the theme with an almost inhuman impartiality, giving true account of everything, from the measured atrocity of the man who drives the thorns into the Saviour's brow to the official yet determined phlegm of the two Pharisees at the left. It is the more lyrical and pathetic note of the somewhat similar compositions at the Escorial and at Valencia (Lafond, Nos. 4, 5) which makes me suspect that they may be rather Spanish adaptations of the motive of the Johnson picture than original works by Jerome Bosch. In particular, the type of the Christ in these Spanish versions is Italianate and quite unlike anything found among the authenticated pictures. The signatures of these Spanish pictures may simply show that the name had become generic for a particular type of grotesque invention. Indeed, a Bosch, generally speaking, is more desirable without a signature than with one. Of course critics, as Dr. Valentiner in the Johnson catalogue, who accept the Valencian picture are inclined to regard such derivatives of the Johnson picture as school pieces.

Oddly M. Lafond catalogues no variants of the Antwerp picture of Christ Mocked, probably because, while numerous, they are generally of negligible quality. One such was lately sold in the dispersal of the remainder of the stock of the Blakeslee Galleries, in New York, last winter.

At the recent sale of the Riabouchinsky Collection appeared a

damaged but extraordinarily significant example of Bosch's mature art. This Christ among the Doctors, which has been added to the treasures of the Johnson Collection (Fig. 8), is entirely unknown to the critics. A certain awkwardness in the arrangement and the not very pleasant surfaces disguise the real quality of the work. But on close inspection the fine pale iridescences and the traces of incisive line tell what the picture has been. As a study in physiognomy and psychology few works of the master excel it. The pitiful earnest little Christ is beset at the right by a group of dullards, at the left by a more formidable group consisting of a mystic, a fanatic, and a pedant. The unevenness of the contest is emphasized. Compare the magisterial little Christs of many Italian pictures. All the poses and gestures are surprised from life—the two dozing doctors with their hands comfortably tucked in their fur cuffs, the nervous gesture of the Boy Christ, the rigidly retracted head of the bearded fanatic. Doubtless the lighting was originally fine. The attempt to light from behind is novel. We have it in Aelbert van Outwater's Resurrection of Lazarus, now at Berlin, which Bosch may have seen at Haarlem. Probably the glimpse of a street with Joseph and Mary approaching was originally attractive. Such small figures in middle distance habitually diversify the works of the Van Eycks and of Rogier de la Pasture. The rather nondescript air of the architecture and perspective might conceivably suggest an early date, but against this is to be set the extraordinary perfection of the characterization. Art has few more sinister faces than those of the two fanatical Levites who sit at the Christ's right. It remains only to note that the original frame, with a tiled floor in perspective, serves as an actual vestibule to the picture, and that the prominent butterfly on the floor should have some meaning as symbol or rebus, which escapes me.

An admirable tragic pendant to this pathetic apparition is the tremendous Christ before Pilate (Fig. 7; Lafond No. 8). It belongs to Professor Allan Marquand and has for years been loaned by him to the Art Museum of Princeton University. Again the Christ is caught between weakness and fanaticism, as years before in the Temple. Pilate evades the unpleasant business as he quietly washes his hands. The human pack bawls and rages behind. Their brutality is purposeful and will win. The Christ, a worn, non-resisting little peasant—the type straight from Dirk Bouts—stands dumb and



Fig. 8. JEROME BOSCH: CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.



Fig. 9. LEONARDO DA VINCI: CARICATURES.
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.



Fig. 10. JEROME BOSCH: DRAWING.
Collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York.



patient and lets the storm rage. The color abounds in deep, sinister greens and russets, in icy-blue reflection of light upon casque and weapon. The workmanship is of the most superb authority, and absolutely intact. The delineation, to the flamboyant cusps at the upper corners, is athletic and definitive. No picture better exemplifies the calculated vehemence of the master and his especial gift of doing a passionate thing with critical detachment.

Of course, the nearest parallel is the Christ Bearing His Cross at Ghent (Lafond, No. 12), but this is more painful. It lacks such relief and modulation as the impassive Christ and the dilettante Pilate. Both pictures must, I think, fall within the sixteenth century and be from the end of the master's life.

How Bosch came to the concentrated arrangements, mere wreaths of malign faces, is an interesting problem. It was a perfectly natural development for him to follow, as a physiognomist. Perhaps we need no further or external explanation. Yet there are suggestive precedents. Mantegna in his late, mystic phase often reduced his compositions to strongly characterized heads. A capital example is in America in the Johnson Adoration of the Magi. Dürer followed this mode in his Christ among the Doctors in the Barberini Palace, Rome, a picture which may well be a little earlier than the masterpieces of Bosch at Ghent and at Princeton. It has been suggested that Bosch in his caricature types may have been influenced by the similar drawings of Leonardo da Vinci. This is possible, but not necessary, for caricature in Bosch may be traced to a date when Leonardo's influence is not thinkable. Yet, a sheet of Leonardo's caricatures at Windsor (Fig. 9) affords a most interesting parallel with the Princeton picture. We have a dignified Roman face in profile, crowned with the civic oak wreath, surrounded by four howling, leering, or scowling faces. Unless I am mistaken the motive here is Pilate amid the Jews, and the sheet is one that might well have been the starting point for the Princeton masterpiece.

Bosch's infernal vein, that of the Last Judgment and Temptation of St. Anthony, is, so far as I know, represented in America only by an inferior and relatively late school piece, on the familiar theme of the *Visio Tundali*, in the store-room of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A few years ago the Parisian dealer, M. Emile Pacully,

had over here a Last Judgment, which, despite its signature, seemed only a school piece. I presume it was taken back to Europe.

Drawings by Bosch are of great rarity, and they much need critical sifting. Such masterpieces as the sheets of sketches in the Louvre and Albertina stand apart. No such authority attaches to the sheet which the late J. P. Morgan acquired with the Fairfax Murray Collection of Old Masters. It is now loaned to the Fogg Museum, and a photograph courteously provided with the owner's consent, by Mr. Paul J. Sachs, permits me to publish it, I believe, for the first time (Fig. 10). It is No. 18 of the drawings listed by Lafond. It apparently represents a group of ten pilgrims running hesitatingly forward with their banneret. The touch is delicate and humorous rather than robust, but the manner is very close to that of the designs for the woman barber which are generally ascribed to Bosch. In a character and composition sketch we must not expect the snap and thrust that are proper in a sketch that specifically searches the form. In its general movement the group is not unlike the group of charlatans that follow the Hay Cart, in the famous picture at the Prado. Probably the blackletter signature *bosch* has only the value of an old and entirely credible attribution.

Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore owns a big Last Judgment ascribed to Pieter Huys. The work is in general related to Bosch's famous picture at Vienna. The darkened condition of the Walters picture makes any attribution hazardous until an adequate cleaning shall have revealed the character of the touch and the color.

GAINSBOROUGH'S AMERICAN SITTER • BY MAURICE W. BROCKWELL

IT is peculiarly appropriate at the present time that we should comment on Gainsborough's fine portrait of Sir Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, which has for about seven years been in the collection of Mr. Edmund Cogswell Converse at Greenwich, Conn. Born at Woburn, Mass., of parents who were on both sides of English descent, he was knighted in England in 1784, raised to the dignities of a Count in Bavaria seven years later, and from about 1802 recognized in France as a leading scientist. Many have regretted that the genius of so eminent an American should not have been displayed on his native soil, a fact



THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH: SIR BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT RUMFORD.
Collection of Mr. Edward Cogswell Converse, Greenwich, Conn.

which was in great part caused by a mob of excited patriots at Concord (then called Rumford), New Hampshire, at a time when the interests of Great Britain and her Colonists were still mutual, although the Revolutionary spirit was drawing near. Thompson's independent spirit led him to resent summons before the "Sons of Liberty" to clear himself from "the taint of toryism," a charge which he indignantly resisted to the end of his life. It is a matter of common knowledge that he eventually went aboard the British frigate "Scarborough," and sailed for England with despatches announcing the evacuation of Boston by the British forces. From the American point of view he had fled from his habitation secretly, accepted the protection of the enemies of the United States, and been named among those proscribed in the Alienation Act passed by the State of New Hampshire in 1778. From the English point of view, however, he had remained loyal to his king and country.

Advanced to a colonelcy in the King's American Dragoons and placed on half pay on August 8, 1783, it is in that uniform that we see Thompson in Gainsborough's portrait, which was evidently painted previous to his being knighted by George III. This is not the place to treat of his wonderful career in the service of the Elector Karl Theodor in Munich, his military reforms, his experiments on food or his various accomplishments "in many branches of polite learning." Rather are we concerned with a masterly portrait of Gainsborough's American sitter. The internal evidence of the painting shows it to be a late work by Gainsborough, and one of the great English artist's finest achievements in male portraiture. Although neither signed nor dated, it is absolutely autograph. The technical characteristics of the picture, the appearance of this famous investigator of light and heat, and the biographical data which we possess of him show that it was painted in August or September, 1783. It will be remembered that early in that year Gainsborough wrote his well-known and firmly worded letter to the Hanging Committee of the Royal Academy on the subject of placing some of his pictures "above the line along with full lengths" and vowed that he would never exhibit there again. Had he not kept his word, the present canvas, which measures about 30 inches by 25 inches, would doubtless have been included in the exhibition of 1784. As it turned out, this portrait of the scientist who championed the vibratory theory of heat, in opposition to all contemporary opinion, was not publicly

exhibited until 1908. In that year it appeared in the Franco-British Exhibition in London, being lent by Mr. Augustus Winterbottom, whose family had inherited it from a Miss Cox some sixty or seventy years previously. On that occasion it hung near the Blue Boy, Lady Bate-Dudley, and Anne, Duchess of Cumberland, four canvases by Gainsborough which are perhaps the most representative works that have since the artist's death been selected to reveal his art in any one exhibition. In its home in London ten years ago it was most often kept in a plush-lined wooden box, and not hung on a wall. One was thus able to examine every stroke of the master's brush in a portrait that is painted in a feigned oval on a rectangular canvas. Loammi Baldwin, who was Rumford's firm friend and subsequently earned fame as an engineer, records that at the age of twenty he was "of a fine manly make and figure, nearly six feet in height, of handsome features, bright blue eyes, and dark auburn hair," a description which tallies pretty accurately with our portrait of him executed some ten years later. It is not known what happened to the picture after Rumford's death in Paris in 1814, nor how it passed into the possession of Miss Cox, whose name does not appear in the voluminous correspondence of the Count or his daughter Sarah. We cannot, however, believe that the Count's second wife became the owner of it, or that she would dispose of it commercially. Anyhow, it has never appeared at public auction.

Any inquiry into other portraits of the Count would become involved and appear even contradictory, for their origin was not an æsthetic but an iconographic one. As his fame increased, publishers eagerly availed themselves of the various duplicates and variants from the hand of Moritz Kellerhoven, court-painter at Munich about 1797, and worked up "originals" which served as reproductions to illustrate his career. Dillis, J. R. Smith, Edlinger and others portrayed, but with little success, this founder of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and benefactor of Harvard University. Some have contrasted Rumford with Benjamin Franklin, while others have justly claimed him as "the friend of man and an honour to the whole human race."

III

TO begin with, I shall submit to the attention of fellow students the few pictures which seem to me to be by the author of the Fogg Museum Nativity; and if at first sight their identity does not seem convincing it is because color—an element so important and helpful in recognition—is absent from the reproductions. Moreover, the eye requires a certain time to perceive even the obvious. After treating this group, I shall attempt to discuss other pictures possibly but less evidently by the same author. The effort cannot be fruitless, for paintings so close to him as to be seriously claimed for him must reveal something significant about his relations to his contemporaries.

It will be convenient to put together three of these certain works because of the close connection between them. They are, first, a Polyptych in the refectory of S. Croce at Florence (No. 8); secondly, another that has disappeared from S. Agostino at S. Gimignano¹; and thirdly, a Triptych of which the center is at Fogliano and the side panels in the Siena Academy (Nos. 42, 43). I trust it may not be hard to persuade the reader that these three works are by the same hand, and after this it will be easier than if we had examined each separately, to prove that that hand was the one which painted the Fogg Museum Nativity.

The S. Croce Polyptych consists of five panels (Fig. 1), each containing under an arch slightly pointed a large, more than half-length figure, with a smaller one in the gable above and in the *predella* below. The Madonna, with her mantle tucked under her right arm, appears in the midst of four Saints among whom we easily make out the Baptist and Francis, but must leave the two gray-beards unnamed. In the Fogliano Triptych (Figs. 3, 3A, 3B), we see the Blessed Virgin, with her mantle tucked under her right arm again, while, as at S. Croce, the half-naked Holy Child, wearing, as so often, a coral charm against the Evil Eye but, as far more rarely perhaps in Siena alone, a cross as well, turns birdlike and rest-

¹ I cannot remember whether I ever saw these panels or whether they had already vanished before my time. They were photographed long ago by Lombardi of Siena (1771, 1772) as of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti and I have always classified them with the S. Croce altarpiece.

less in her arms to the right. In the side panels S. Galgano, like another Mithras, sticks his sword into a rock, and S. Ansano carries the banner, as patron of Siena. All three are more than half length and under trefoil arches with dragons in the spandrils. The now missing S. Gimignano Polyptych (Fig. 2) consisted of five panels, framed as cinquefoils, with a more than half-length figure in each and a smaller one in each gable above. The central figure was the Madonna with the fully clothed Child, holding a large crown with both hands, very heavily seated in her arms. On her right were Dominic and the Baptist, and on the left a young deacon, Laurence or Stephen, and Catherine.

Little demonstration is required to convince the student that these three works are due to the same hand.

To begin with, they partake of the same mood. For designs so Ducciesque as they still are in the main, they are unusually emotional, sentimental and even vehement in expression. The action is agitated, to the extent at least that the severe restraint of the formula permits of action. Of the color I shall not speak because I do not recall what it was at S. Gimignano, and at S. Croce the surface is so spoilt that it scarcely resembles the original state. As design, however, the central panel containing the Madonna and Child in the last-mentioned work is so close to the one in the Fogliano Triptych that it would be insulting the student's intelligence to propose to prove the obvious identity of the mind and hand that created them. The S. Galgano resembles in expression, if not type, the Francis at S. Croce, and he and Ansano as well show a peculiarity in the cut of the hair which we find again on the head of the saint on our extreme left at S. Croce. This peculiarity, of which we may have to speak yet again, consists of a fan-shaped shock which, starting from toward the crown, spreads over the forehead between the waving locks that fall at the sides. Between these two altarpieces and the third, the one formerly at S. Gimignano, the resemblances are not so striking, although convincing enough: between the head of the Child in each; the face of the Madonna there and at S. Croce; between the Francis in the last-named and the Dominic at S. Gimignano; and between the deacon there, and the youthful saints in the gables and *predella* at Florence. Rather than insist on a matter so patent as that these three works are by the same hand, we shall



Fig. 1. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA AND SAINTS. POLYPTYCH.
S. Croce, Florence.



Fig. 2. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA AND SAINTS. POLYPTYCH.
S. Gimignano.





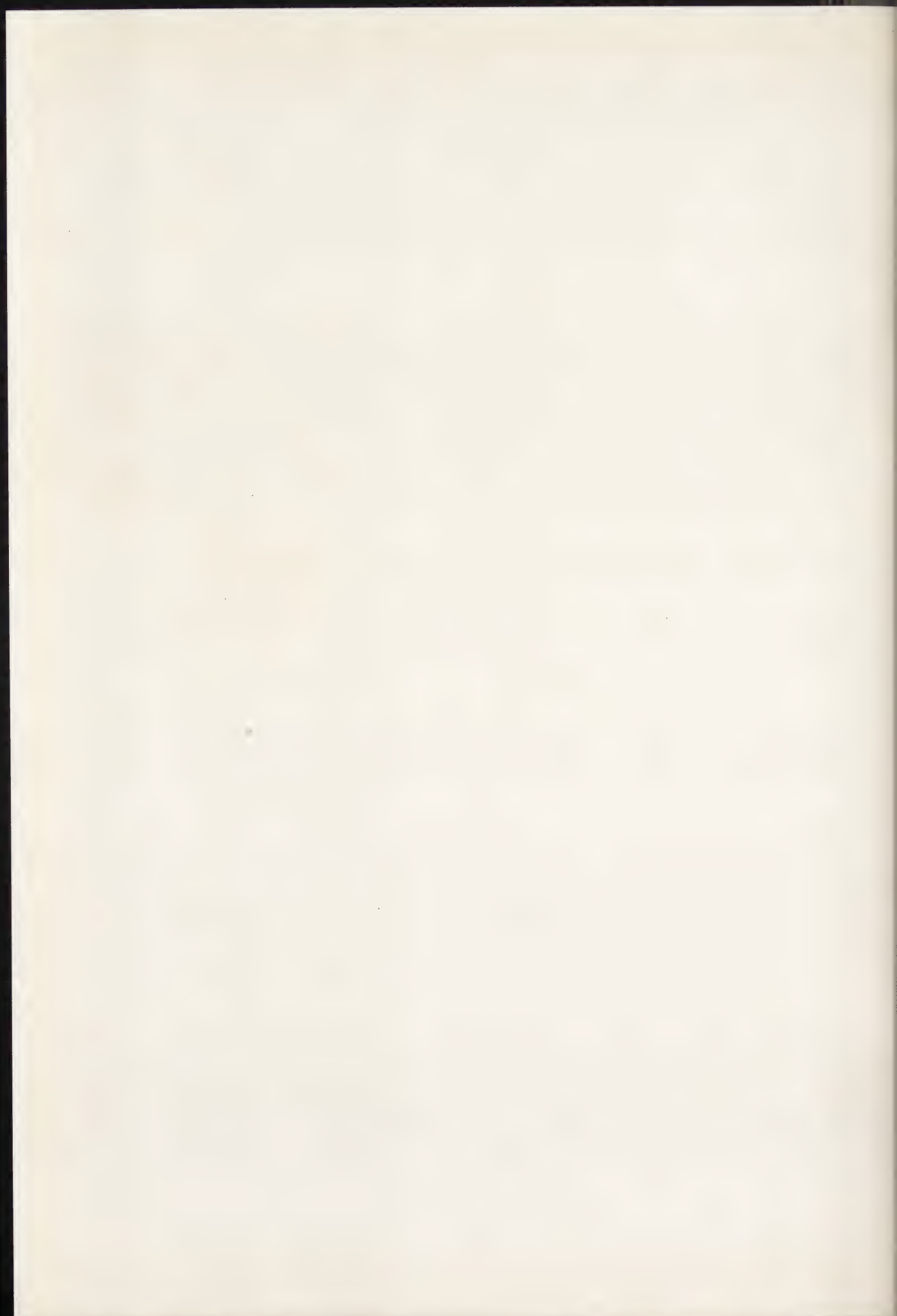
3A



Fig. 3. "Ugolino Lorenzetti": MADONNA WITH SS. GALLIANO AND ANSANO. TRIPTYCH. *Fogliano.*



3B



do better to turn to the question of their affinities to the rest of Sienese painting, and of their chronological relations to each other.

The question of affinities, too, offers no difficulties. Dr. De Nicola, whose sense of Sienese art is unsurpassed, after reconstructing the Fogliano Triptych and identifying it as by the hand that painted the S. Croce Polyptych, decided that the latter was manifestly by a close follower of Ugolino.¹ The resemblances are not few, and might be even more striking if we could rediscover the Madonna that formed the centerpiece among the many panels he painted for the altar of S. Croce. The intensity, the vehemence of expression recall him; the knitted brows recall his saints; the look of the Child reminds us of his angels; the hands are singularly alike, and the way the little fingers disappear under the others, particularly in the Fogliano Triptych, is an exaggeration of a mannerism of Ugolino's. The draperies too are modelled after his, more linear than common among the followers of Duccio. And yet it is as easy to discover affinities with Pietro Lorenzetti, not only of expression such as may have come through Ugolino, who I believe must have been influenced by his greater fellow pupil, but in pattern and action as well. The Madonnas at S. Croce and Fogliano, for instance, with their pose off the frontal, their sidewise look, and their mantles tucked under their arms, occur in Sienese painting so far as I can remember only in Pietro and perhaps Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The Holy Children, too, remind us vividly of these masters, the one in the S. Gimignano altarpiece particularly.

The problem of chronology is far more complicated, but three whole polyptychs should offer ample materials for a solution.

We should at the start dispel from our minds the notion that a pupil of Ugolino's must somehow have been too old to be strongly influenced by the Lorenzetti. As I have just hinted, it is not impossible that Ugolino himself was affected by them, for although a follower no doubt of Duccio's, there is no reason for assuming that he was an old man when we lose sight of him in 1337; and indeed his masterpiece, the Madonna of S. Casciano recently assigned to him by Dr. De Nicola, seems to have been painted after 1335.

Among the many auxiliary studies required to facilitate the connoisseur's researches, one of the most important should be the study

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 147.

of poses in general and of the Madonna's in particular. It probably would be discovered that it was the French, feeling the need of an art less rigid and more human than could be compassed by severe frontality, who had the genius to turn the figure on its own axis so as to bring it into relation with the other figures. That change alone made it possible for the Holy Child to smile at His Mother and for her at times wistfully and at other times joyously to smile back at Him in a way that anticipated, by two hundred years and more, the Milanese Madonnas inspired by Leonardo da Vinci. Giovanni Pisano brought the new pose and the new feeling to Tuscany, but although painting quickly adopted his eager, appealing Child, it took a generation before the Virgin began to turn her whole figure and not her head alone. To represent her standing sideways was an innovation that Tuscan painting in the Trecento did not seem greatly to favor. The Lorenzetti, inspired as nobody else by Giovanni Pisano, could not help trying it, but tried it so seldom that I cannot remember many instances.

Much rarer still is the motive of the Madonna standing sideways with her mantle tucked under the right arm. I can recall none belonging to the public except the Madonna in Ambrogio's Polyptych in the Siena Academy, and only three or four in private collections, as, for example, a full-length one in my own collection, a half-length one in Mr. Charles Loeser's, all dating, be it noted, according to careful calculation from about 1325. One is tempted to infer that the experiment, although so successful as art, did not please—the elders. But meanwhile it was imitated by our painter at S. Croce and at Fogliano, for in both works, as we remember, the Madonna is seen as if standing sideways with her mantle tucked under her right arm. Presumably a motive that did not become popular must have been copied soon after it was introduced, that is to say, soon after 1325, but as other considerations may modify this result we must now turn to them.

We remarked a while ago the fan-shaped shock of hair over the foreheads of Ansano and Galgano in the Fogliano Triptych and of the old saint on our extreme left in the S. Croce altarpiece. The arrangement of the hair is as subject to fashion as dress itself, and for the same reason; it is as easy to cut and curl and dispose as any article of apparel. This particular shock is perhaps vaguely anticipated in Duccio's *Maestas* finished in 1311, and in works by

Simone of no later date than 1320, the great Theophany, for instance, in the town hall of Siena, or the Pisan Polyptych. The closest parallels occur in Ugolino, unfortunately undated, in two small works of his in America, a Daniel in the J. G. Johnson Collection (Plate 89 of catalogue) and the head of a graybeard Saint belonging to Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. The next closest occur in Pietro Lorenzetti's signed and dated altarpiece of 1329 at S. Ansano a Dofano.¹ Here, however, the shock begins to be scallop-shaped, and is on the way to the treatment we find in Simone's frescoes at Assisi some six or more years later. As our artist was, in other respects, closely related with both Ugolino and Pietro, he no doubt followed them in this trifle as well; but as his treatment is not so advanced as we found it in a work of 1329, we may safely assume that it goes back two or three years earlier: to the time, therefore, that the pose and action brought us to, that is to say, soon after 1325.

I do not hesitate to say that a study of all the patterns, whether on stuffs or jewels or ornaments, would confirm this date, but as it would be tedious to pursue it here I shall confine myself, before drawing this part of the discussion to a close, to a matter so conspicuous and important as frames.

Frames are to pictures what clothes are to human beings, and it is probable that, in the fourteenth century at least, the framed panel was not prepared by the painter himself but ordered or purchased already made from the framer. Earlier in this article we have already referred to this in connection with works of toward 1320. Directly afterwards, the Gothic pointed frame came in and ousted the round-arched one, although a certain number of the last continued in use for a while, either because they were selling at a discount or that the older people would not change over.

The frame of the Fogliano Madonna, already of a fairly advanced type, has the peculiarity of displaying dragons as ornaments in the spandrils. The same decoration occurs in the spandrils of a Simone Madonna belonging to Mrs. J. L. Gardner of Boston, and of a variant, once upon a time at Brussels, of Segna di Bonaventura's Madonna in the Seminary at Siena. The identity of shape and decoration implies not only the probability that the frames came from the same maker but that they were done at about the same time.

¹ While on the S. Ansano a Dofano altarpiece, it should be noted how much the Child there resembles the one at Fogliano.

Now the chronological arrangement of Simone's works obliges us to date the Gardner Madonna not more than a few years after the Pisa Polyptych of 1320, which brings us to about 1325, and a similar process of research will date the Segnesque Madonna no later.

We thus may venture to place the Fogliano Triptych not long after 1325, and it follows easily that the S. Croce Polyptych is somewhat earlier. Its panels are not cusped and not so pointed; and, despite the singular likenesses between the two Madonnas, the general character of the other figures is much more Ducciesque and closer to Ugolino in the latter than in the former work. As for the third of this group, the S. Gimignano Altarpiece, it is certainly later than either of the others. Its panels approach the cinquefoil rather than the trefoil in the ornamentation of the pointed arches, and I doubt whether such shapes occurred before 1325, while the types approach more closely to the Lorenzetti, and to the Lorenzetti of about 1330 or later. It will suffice here to mention the singular resemblance of the Child with the Children of eager darting look in such Madonnas by the Lorenzetti of about that period as Pietro's at Grosseto (Fig. 4) and Ambrogio's in the Siena Academy (No. 65) and at Roccalbenga¹ (Fig. 5).

It follows from the discussion just completed that the S. Croce, Fogliano, and S. Gimignano series of panels are all by the same hand, that they were painted in the order named within the years 1324-31 or so, and that their author must have begun as a pupil of Ugolino and ended as a follower of the Lorenzetti. Let us now see whether to him is due the Fogg Nativity as well. If it is, we shall have put together four considerable works that imply the existence of a hitherto unidentified artist; while the difference between them, with the permissible insertion of discreet intervals of time, will afford glimpses of a career in its progress, and thus enable us to assemble the nucleus of an artistic personality. Other works which we may agglomerate to this nucleus will enlarge this personality and necessarily modify our sense of its momentum and direction, but in essence it should remain, like character in general, true enough to itself to be recognizable in all its varying phases.

After what we have learned in our examination of the four

¹ Reproduced here chiefly because of its interest as an entirely unknown picture by this great master.



Fig. 4. PIETRO LORENZETTI: MADONNA.
Grosseto.



Fig. 5. AMBROGIO LORENZETTI: MADONNA.
Roccalbena.

works in question, namely the three series of panels and the Nativity, we shall not find it hard to persuade ourselves that all are by the same hand. For proofs we naturally shall look first at the work closest in date to the last mentioned, and as, apart from considerations of authorship, we have concluded that the Fogg picture must have been designed somewhere about 1335, and the S. Gimignano Polyptych as late perhaps as 1331, it is to this polyptych that we shall turn first. We find that the Madonnas have faces which resemble each other singularly, the heads of the Children likewise, and that the startled, eager, dramatic shepherd in the one is of the closest kin to the Dominic and Baptist in the other. In the droop even more than in the shape of the Blessed Virgin's hands in each we observe a similar likeness, and the mussel-like ear of the shepherd is all but identical with Dominic's. Looking at the S. Croce Polyptych, we discover that the saint seen on our extreme left, in type, features, peculiarities of hair-dressing (the fan-shaped shock over the forehead), folds of drapery and hand, is almost a line for line study for the Joseph in the Nativity. In the Fogliano Triptych what strikes us chiefly is the same color scheme of golden brown that we have in the Fogg picture.

It may be assumed that the trained student who has had the patience and humility to follow the evidence will find it more than adequate to the purpose of proving that the last-named work, the Nativity, is due to the mind and hand responsible for the other works. Their relations to each other have already been established, and we now may conclude without rashness that this hand, first guided by Ugolino, as we see in the S. Croce Polyptych, leaned more and more toward the Lorenzetti, as we note progressively in the three other works. If any doubt lingers in our minds it will be dispelled by the examination of two or three paintings more that are certainly by the same hand, besides one or two less certain ones that claim attention before we can sum up our knowledge and give our present impression of the author of the Cambridge Nativity.

Two of the pictures that seem to me to be beyond question by our author represent the same subject, the Crucifixion. One is an upright panel in my collection¹ and the other is an oblong panel,

¹ The dealer of whom I bought it years ago said that it came from Lugano, where there remained a companion to it.

probably part of a *predella*, in the Louvre. In the upright one (Fig. 6) the treatment remains Ducciesque, with episodes culled, as it were, from the sublime Crucifixion in the *Maestas*. Our master betrays himself first in the warmth, brilliance and radiance of the color, surpassing in this respect no doubt only because of its better preservation, all his other works, and then in the types, in the astonished expression, in the prominence given to the whites of the eyes, and in the way the draperies have of stretching for no reason into angularity or flatness. It is a design he must have executed between the S. Croce Polyptych and the Fogliano Triptych.¹ The oblong Crucifixion in the Louvre (No. 1665) is more original in conception (Fig. 7). Its division into distinct groups, its horsemen with their carefully studied cuirasses, mail and helmets, its touch, as it were, of deliberate Byzantinism, its curious corroded coloring, used to suggest to me an archaizing painter, and make me wonder whether he might not be Giovanni di Paolo. It is clear now that it was painted by the author of the Fogg Nativity, in a moment not long after the S. Gimignano Polyptych. Look carefully at the types, the draperies, the knitted brows, the eyes, the ears, and you will end by agreeing. The Christ on the cross is, by the way, nearly identical with the Eternal in the Nativity.

If these two panels just described hover between Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti, the work that we turn to next is so close to the last-named master that when I first saw it I supposed it to be by him. At that time it belonged to Mr. C. B. Perkins, the heir of the famous writer on Tuscan sculpture, C. C. Perkins of Boston, but it now forms part of Mrs. Gardner's collection (Fig. 9). Its shape is almost unique at Siena, for it is a small arched Tabernacle and decorated, like many a wayside shrine all over Italy, with paintings on the back as well as in the embrasure. We see the Blessed Virgin seated sideways on a wide shallow throne, while the Child in her arms plays with a bird, fiercely and cruelly—in the character given Him in the Gospels of the Infancy—while to right and left and above are ranged Cherubim and Angels, Peter and Paul, Catherine and the Magdalen, and in the embrasure the Baptist and Evangelist, Nicholas, and Anthony Abbot.

¹ Among the Ducciesque Crucifixions two stand very close to this one, the one possibly by our author himself, known to me in reproduction only, belonging to Prince A. Gagarine (see *Les Anciennes Ecoles de Peinture dans les Palais et Collections privés russes*, Bruxelles, Van Oest, 1910), and the other in the gallery of the New York Historical Association (No. 189), very likely by an imitator of our master.



Fig. 6. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": CRUCIFIXION.
Collection of Mr. Bernard Berenson, Settignano.

Not only is this portable shrine close to Pietro Lorenzetti, but close to him at a definite moment, represented by three Madonnas which were painted, as I have good reason to believe, between about 1330 and 1335. One of these, at Grosseto (Fig. 4), we have mentioned already because of the striking resemblance between the Child there and the Infant in the S. Gimignano Polyptych. More striking still is the resemblance to the Child in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle, although nearest of all to the fierceness of the latter Child's action is the one in the second of these Madonnas, a panel in S. Pietro Ovale at Siena. The third is in the Siena Academy (No. 80). All three Virgins sit on elaborately draped thrones, and have so much in common with the types and mannerisms of our painter that it took me no slight effort to distinguish between them and his real works. The resemblance, to take but one instance, between the Madonna and Child in the Siena Academy and those in the S. Gimignano altarpiece seems created for the confusion of connoisseurs.

And yet the author of the Fogg Nativity betrays himself in many ways. In the first place, the Tabernacle has the general character that by this time we have learned to recognize at sight, the "all-overishness" that the great psychologist William James used to speak of, which determines our decisions more than all the detailed analysis that can be brought up in proof. Condescending, nevertheless, to facts, we may point to the types of the old men glowing with prophetic passion, to the astonished looks, and prominent whites of the eyes, to the same shape of hands and the same kind of folds which have all become familiar to us as we studied our artist's other works. An expression so like to that of the shepherd in the Fogg Nativity as the Baptist's in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle, a Paul in the last-named so like the one in the gable above the Baptist at S. Croce, old saints so like the ones there and here, a cast of drapery so identical as Peter's in our Tabernacle and the Evangelist's in the Louvre Crucifixion, a hand so like our Madonna's and that of Our Lady at S. Gimignano or the S. Ansano in the Fogliano Triptych, bear strong corroborating witness to the conclusion that all are due to the same brain and habits. Chronologically, too, it fits perfectly into the canon. We have seen that in so far as it depends upon Lorenzetti's paintings, which our artist was imitating just then, these dated from after 1330, and that its next of kin among works by the

same hand was the S. Gimignano Polyptych, which we have placed about 1331. In the canon, therefore, it finds room after the last-named achievement and before the Fogg Nativity, which, as we shall recall, we decided to date about 1335.

To these works that I think I am justified in ascribing to the same artist I shall now add two more. The first, consisting of four panels in the Pisa Gallery with a full-length figure in each (Fig. 8), the stray remains of some scattered polyptych, I should accept as his without hesitation if I did not find them a trifle summary and coarse in execution. The fault may be due to a certain carelessness, or because their position on the polyptych demanded a larger treatment, or merely to the present darkened and corroded condition of the surface, or to all these causes in combination. I cannot admit, however, that their design at least was due to anyone else, and much if not all of the execution. The types are his, with the crimped hair, and whites of the eyes showing so prominently. The hands are his, Lucy's, for instance, like S. Ansano's in the Fogliano Triptych, and Catherine's like those in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle: the draperies are his, too, as is so manifest in the Bartholomew, with whom we need only parallel the Baptist in the Louvre Crucifixion and the Peter in the Tabernacle. Finally, the Catherine is all but identical with the same saint in the S. Gimignano Polyptych.

Perhaps it is only the timidity of age that makes me hesitate at all in annexing to our group the pair of shutters with ten rather fluently sketched and charmingly colored little figures in the J. G. Johnson Collection (Fig. 10). There scarcely can exist a more serious reason for reluctance to accept them, for not only are they worthy of the others by our artist but most intimately related to them. The figure of Bartholomew, for instance, is all but the same saint as at Pisa, and Lucy all but identical with the one there again, the young Deacon and Gabriel are close to those in the S. Gimignano Polyptych, and the Andrew resembles the old Evangelist in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle. Finally, the same Andrew's folds, and those of Bartholomew and Gabriel as well, have all the peculiarities of misplaced flatness and tightness that we have seen so frequently in the other works by the author of the Fogg Nativity. I venture to conclude that there is small excuse for doubting that these little figures, too, must be by him. Again, we are encouraged by the facility wherewith one may insert them in the canon. They find their



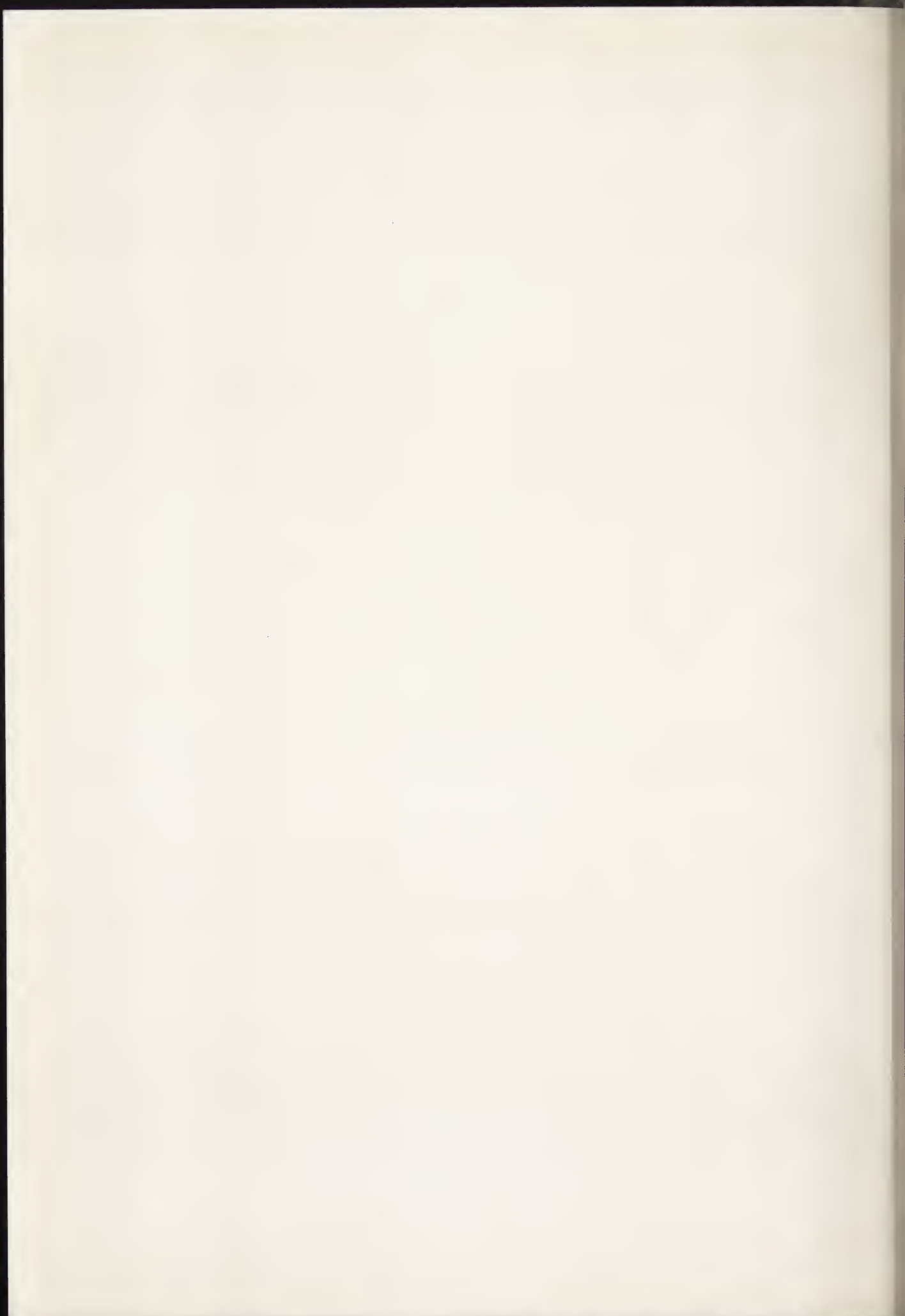
Fig. 7. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": CRUCIFIXION.
Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 8. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": FOUR SAINTS.
Pisa.



Fig. 9. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA AND SAINTS. TABERNACLE.
Collection of Mrs. John Lowell Gardner, Boston.



natural place between the Pisa figures and the Nativity, between 1331 or so and 1335, let us say.¹

IV

More works by the same hand will appear in time, as soon perhaps as other students can bring their contributions to the subject. Meanwhile we have enough already, stretching, as we have seen, over a period of ten years, to form the nucleus, we may even go so far as to say the torso, of an artistic personality.

It is an agreeable and attractive one. There is something at once fresh and youthful, passionate and ardent in his figures, emotion in a word. If he never abandons himself to such tortured agonies of almost grotesque grief as the Lorenzetti sometimes exhibit (Pietro, for instance, at Assisi), he attains a certain airiness, a gayety almost, that radiates conspicuously from his S. Croce and Fogliano and Johnson panels. And yet he is scarcely the inferior of these great masters in his gifts of eloquence and dramatic arrangement, as we have seen in his Crucifixions, the Louvre one particularly, and in the Nativity. And much as he leans on them, he is no slavish imitator. On the contrary, in the last-named panel, his most considerable achievement, he displays as much independence of them as kinship with them. The more I meditate on this, his maturest work, the more do I become aware therein of a serenity, a ponderation of thought, and a command of artistic resources which give its creator a distinct and honorable place among his Sieneese contemporaries. We shall recall wondering what could have inspired a composition in many respects so singular. We need no longer hesitate to conclude that, no matter what theologian or poet set his task for him, the painter who could make a composition so original was no ordinary artist. It is not likely that among his fellows we shall end by putting him on a level with Simone or the Lorenzetti, but he may turn out ultimately to have, when all is considered, the merit

¹ As I wrote of these shutters some seven years ago without foreseeing the present study, it may be of some interest to read what I said then:

"These are among the most spirited, brilliant and attractive creations of the Sieneese School. One is at a loss as to their exact authorship. They do not perfectly coincide with any unquestioned work of Pietro's, being more radiantly clear and golden in color and of a blither spirit. Nevertheless they are too close to him in every way to be by anyone but a very near follower, and among these there is none who attains to a quality so worthy of the master himself. It is thus better to assume that they are by him until more precise acquaintance with Sieneese art proves or disproves the attribution."

See my catalogue of the Italian Masters in the J. G. Johnson Collection, p. 35.

and rank of a Lippo Memmi. If he scarcely attains this artist's almost uniform loveliness of features and daintiness of workmanship, he is more poignant, more absorbing, more personal. As a colorist also he is distinctly apart. In his better preserved panels the gamut reminds me at times of the East¹ with its unhackneyed transitions and unexpected intensities. He almost harks back to the most wonderful of all Italian Medieval masters of tones and pigment and technique, the unknown Siennese of a generation or two before Duccio who painted an altarpiece to the glory of the Baptist now in the Siena Academy (No. 14). And withal he seems to have had an enterprising and experimental mind, as we may infer from the fact that each of his remaining works is distinct from the others.

This last quality may, however, be accounted for in yet another and not less probable way if we suppose that these works represent not a whole career, but only the initial, necessarily tentative part of one. As we have seen, it seems to start out toward 1327 with the S. Croce Polyptych and to end some ten or more years later with the Fogg Nativity, for none of these paintings—and they are the only ones known at present—is very likely to be of later date. What became of him then, at the height of his maturity? If facts warranted, it would be delightful to establish that we have here the youth of an artist hitherto known to us only in full career. But at first appearance this pupil of Ugolino is already under the influence of Pietro Lorenzetti, and in each of the several works that we have examined this dependence increases, until finally, as in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle and the J. G. Johnson panels, he is scarcely to be distinguished from his leader. True, the Nativity, his latest achievement, is more severed, more emancipated from the Lorenzetti, as if its author were suddenly reaching out to a serener and more severely plastic art; but what career known to us only in its maturity could it possibly have preceded?

I can think of two only that could come under consideration, Barna's, and Lippo Vanni's.

Now Barna, "the most tragic minded" of Siennese as he has been called, is an artist whom it is easy enough to estimate but very difficult to place, for the traditions with regard to him are confusing, and documents concerning him offer no security. We thus are left

¹ In the Louvre Crucifixion one of the horsemen wears Persian headgear. As is manifest in Pietro Lorenzetti's frescoes at S. Francesco in Siena, at about this time the arts and crafts of the contemporary Orient were beginning to invade Italy.



Fig. 10. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": ANNUNCIATION AND SAINTS.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

to our own resources, which consist of the inferences we may draw from the frescoes at S. Gimignano. These reveal an artist who no doubt owed not a little to the passion and intensity of the Lorenzetti, but who yet remained faithful to the types, coloring and even compositions of Simone and his school. And as he seems, in turn, to have been the chief inspiration of Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea Vanni, we can perhaps conclude that his brief flowering season occurred not long after but scarcely before 1350. Not only do I fail to discover in the works by our painter, which as we remember are of overwhelmingly Lorenzettish character, anything in their style, their types, or their coloring compelling us to regard them as a preparation for the frescoes at S. Gimignano, but their date excludes the likelihood; for the author of the Fogg Nativity had a career of at least ten years behind him when he painted that panel about 1335; and fifteen years later, the earliest probable date of Barna's designs, he would have been a man toward fifty, and not the young man traditionally credited with that great achievement. And besides, what became of him in the intervening years? It would be a singular, I may add an almost unparalleled accident that swept away every trace of the activity of those earlier middle years usually so productive.

If Barna is excluded, despite the uncertainty surrounding his place in Sienese art, we shall find it no harder to eliminate Lippo Vanni. Dr. De Nicola's researches have given definite substance to this artist, hitherto a mere name, and to the hearsay reputation hitherto enjoyed by him we may now add several works that we can know and appreciate at first hand. It turns out that he must have been a painter of about the measure of the author of the Fogg Nativity. They even have one or two points of contact. Thus, the Francis in Lippo's fresco at S. Francesco of Siena is so like the one in our author's panels of the Johnson Collection that they doubtless must have a common origin in some figure by one of the Lorenzetti; and in the same way and for a similar reason, the dead Christ under the S. Croce Madonna is like the one under Lippo's Triptych at SS. Sisto e Domenico in Rome. Lippo's dates, too, which, unlike Barna's, are well known, would fit better with our author's. Nevertheless, two strong objections oppose our linking together the two groups of works into one career. In the first place, although Lippo

was active at least as early as 1344, it is most improbable that he had already had, as would be the case with our painter, a career of twenty years behind him. There would arise the question what became of him in the decade that intervened between the execution of the Fogg Nativity and the miniatures of 1345 assigned to him by Dr. De Nicola. More negative still are the conclusions drawn from the fact that while Lippo Vanni, like all his contemporaries, owed a great deal to the Lorenzetti, he even more than Barna follows the stream of Simone, and is at times (as in a Madonna once at a Roman dealer's, and in the St. Paul in the Bartolini-Salimbeni-Vivai Collection at Florence) scarcely to be distinguished from Lippo Memmi.

It is hardly necessary to add that Luca di Tomè and Jacopo di Mimo cannot be thought of in this connection, although I mention them to say that I have considered and refused their claims. The truth seems to be that the career which we have studied ended with the Fogg Nativity. To painters, as to other mortals, death comes sometimes sooner than later, and in all probability it snatched ours away in his prime. He did not perish utterly. In Bartolo di Fredi's and Taddeo di Bartolo's angels we seem to feel a reminiscence of his art.

By what name shall we call him? My preference goes toward a nomenclature which has the advantage of being at the same time descriptive, mnemonic, and alive, in place of the abstract shadows of abstractions, evoking nothing real, affected by that most German of centuries, the nineteenth, with its "Masters of the Half Figures," "Masters of the Pink Sash," "Masters of the Faces with Two Eyes," or Masters of many-linked place names. Our author was, as we have seen, an artist who started as the pupil of Ugolino and ended as the follower of Lorenzetti. I propose, therefore, to designate him, until archives one day yield up the secret of how his contemporaries called him, by the names of his two teachers, "Ugolino Lorenzetti." But if that name irritates those who did not like my "Amico di Sandro" and "Alunno di Domenico," they are free to speak of him as the "Master of the Fogg Art Museum Harvard University Cambridge Massachusetts United States of America Nativity." I shall carry my patience so far as to allow them to put hyphens between these words and even to run them all into one.

TWO WORKS OF VENETIAN SCULPTURE · BY
ALLAN MARQUAND

TWO works quite different in character, and yet products of the Venetian school of sculpture of the same period, have found a resting place in America.

The first of these is a statue of S. Sebastiano (Fig. 1) from the Davanzati Palace Collection, belonging to Mr. George Grey Barnard and exhibited in his gallery of mediæval art. It is carved from wood, is 5 feet 10¼ inches in height, and is naturalistically painted even to the streaks of dark blood which gush out from the holes made by the arrows. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when the academic study of anatomy was finding its way into the field of art, S. Sebastiano was a favorite subject in the realistic schools of sculpture and painting. We readily recall the marble statues of this martyr saint by Antonio Rossellino, Benedetto da Maiano, and Civitale, and those in terra-cotta by Andrea and Giovanni della Robbia. Even wooden statues of S. Sebastiano are not unknown. Attilio Rossi published one in *Les Arts*, No. 50 (1906), p. 20, attributed to Silvestro d'Aquila. Umberto Gnoli published another from Sangemini near Terni, in *L'Arte Umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, p. 74. Still another of similar type is said to be in the church of S. Sebastiano at Cascia, and a fourth of somewhat different character in S. Francesco in Stroncone, near Terni. Adolf Gottschewski has attributed the Sangemini statue to Antonio Rizzo, and considers it a type of the work which that artist accomplished after his obligatory departure from Venice in 1498. I find it most difficult to believe that Antonio Rizzo, after having produced masterpieces in Venice, could have fallen suddenly into the production of such rustic creations as these wooden statues in Umbria.

The statue in the Barnard Collection, however, falls naturally into line with the works of Antonio Rizzo and his associates in Venice, at the period when he had lost sight of his Veronese associations and had begun to feel the freedom and grace of the artistic products of Venice. No Italian painter of the fifteenth century—not Pollaiuolo, nor Perugino, nor Liberale, nor Antonello da Messina, nor even Giovanni Bellini himself—expressed more adequately the martyr's pathetic but calm faith seen in the face of this wooden statue (*cf.* Detlev von Hadeln, *Die wichtigsten Darstellungs-*

formen des H. Sebastian in der italienischen Malerei bis zur Ausgang des Quattrocento. Strassburg, 1906). It is this expression which elevates this S. Sebastiano above the many inane representations of him with which we are all familiar. Nor was the sculptor unmindful of anatomy. His knowledge of the bones, muscles, and veins in the human body is evident though less obtrusive than in the Sangemini statue.

I am inclined to think that the statue was produced about 1483 when Antonio Rizzo began the execution of the tomb of Giovanni Emo for S. Maria dei Servi. The tomb is now destroyed, but the statue of Emo is preserved in the Museum at Vicenza and the two charming shield-bearers passed into the Arconati Visconti Collection and thence into the Louvre. These shield-bearers are published by Paoletti (*L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, p. 150), by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot (*Les Arts*, No. 19, 1903, pp. 24-26), and less satisfactorily by Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, VI, pp. 1065-1066). In general proportions and treatment the Barnard S. Sebastiano and these shield-bearers are enough alike to be attributed to the same atelier, if not to the same hand. Paoletti classes the latter for elegance and beauty of form and excellence of execution with the most interesting works of the Venetian Renaissance and attributes them to Antonio Rizzo, whereas Venturi considers them graceful enough to be assigned to the atelier of Pietro Lombardo. Between the works of these two masters there is no wide gulf of artistic quality. I am inclined, however, to agree with Paoletti in attributing them to Antonio Rizzo.

To the same period and school belongs the Venetian balcony or loggia screen (Fig. 2) now on my lawn at Princeton. It was purchased at the sale of the effects of Mr. Henry W. Poor a few years ago and was brought from Italy by the late Mr. Stanford White. It measures 12 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and 3 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. It is constructed from a hard, white limestone, which has weathered fairly well. At first sight it looks as if it might have been a loggia screen set between two walls and beneath an arch. But a loggia of this width unsupported by columns is most improbable; and a loggia supported by columns like that of the Palazzo Ducale would show a repetition of rails with the same number of colonnettes. There is no occasion for a composition of six and four



Fig. 1. ANTONIO RIZZO: S. SEBASTIAN.
Collection of Mr. George Grey Barnard, New York.



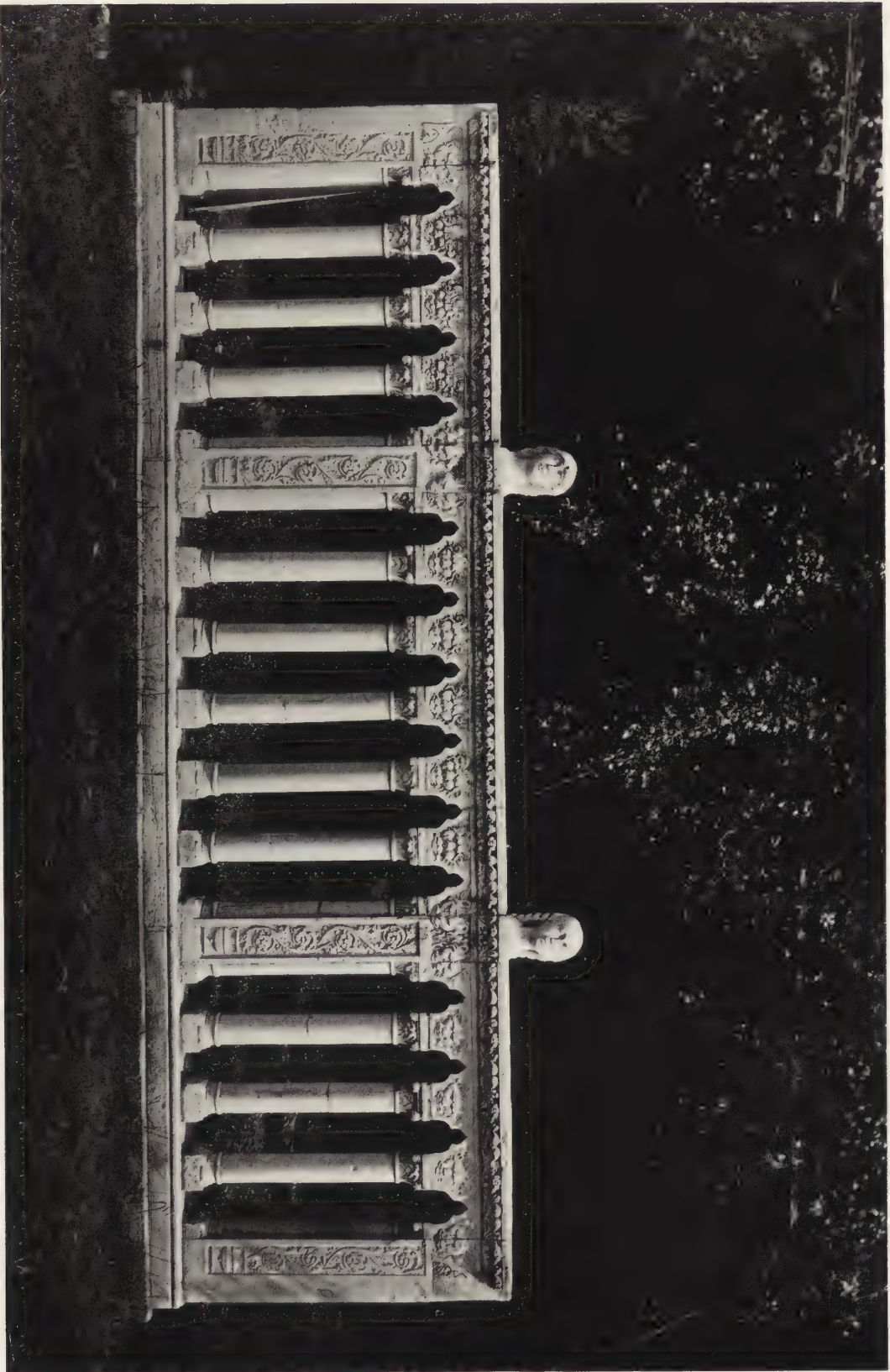


Fig. 2. VENETIAN BALCONY OR LOGGIA SCREEN. LIMESTONE.
Property of Prof. Allan Murgand, Princeton.



openings as shown in this case. The heads which crown the railing find their analogues in balconies, not in loggia rails. These heads, it should be noticed, are not mere busts set upon the cornice of the railing; they are veritable herms, which broaden at the impost of the arches and include in the same block the engaged colonnettes below.

A Venetian balcony analogous to ours is that on the façade of the Palazzo Bragadin. Mothes, in his *Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs*, I, p. 211, speaks of it as "einer der schönsten die in Venedig existiren," and Paoletti, in his *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, I, p. 34, as "uno dei migliori poggiuoli del periodo di transizione." Molmenti, in his *Storia di Venezia*, I, p. 371, also published an illustration of it. Like ours, it has cusped or Arabic arches supported by colonnettes with early Gothic capitals, plain shafts, and Attic or Corinthian bases with corner leaves. It is subdivided into four sections, separated by rectangular piers with engaged colonnettes, each section containing four colonnettes.

The Bragadin balcony shows cherub heads in the spandrels between the arches; ours, lion masks interestingly conventionalized. The Gothic leaf molding in the cornice gives to our balcony rail superior charm, as does also the paneling of the piers decorated with vines issuing from graceful vases. The Bragadin balcony has three bearded heads projecting above the rail, but two of these are evidently modern repetitions. At the angles are Venetian lions set diagonally. This was a common Venetian device. The two heads that mark the central portion of the Princeton balcony may be viewed as Gothic modes of decoration, especially of that type of Gothic which spread from Lombardy throughout the north of Italy. Pinnacles were surmounted with statues, lunettes were often overcrowded with statuettes or busts. The piers which marked the divisions of balcony rails were treated as pinnacles and capped either with knobs or, as in this case, with human heads. The latter method enlivened the balcony and decorated it without necessarily implying that the heads might represent the owners of the house. And yet the latter implication is not to be cast aside. The two heads certainly suggest the owner and his wife. The man wears a close-fitting helmet, not unlike that of a warrior carved by Antonio Rizzo on

the Arco Foscari, and the woman's head is not far removed in type from that of the Eve on the same building. The two heads evidently belong to the same school of art as that represented by the two shield-bearers from the Emo monument and thus may be classed with the S. Sebastiano in the Barnard Collection.

Before restoring to our imagination the original appearance of the balcony we should carefully distinguish the ancient from the modern portions of the balustrade. The plinth with its plain roundel molding is modern. It probably replaced a Gothic molding decorated with foliage. The two terminal piers are modern, though possibly copies of the piers by means of which the balcony was attached to the wall of the house. The first section to the left, showing three colonnettes and four openings, is ancient and may have constituted one of the short sides of the balcony, but its decorative details indicate that it did not originally adjoin the pier with the helmeted head. The central section has two modern colonnettes and a capital partially restored. To the right of this the block with the lion masks and leaf cornice, as well as the terminal pier, is modern. Only the three colonnettes are ancient. Traces of the mason marks on the rear also indicate that the present was not the original arrangement of the balustrade. It should be restored as a balcony with a front of three, or perhaps four, subdivisions each with six openings, and lateral colonnades each with four openings. The piers at the angles are now lost, so that we cannot determine exactly how the ornamentation was returned about the corners, nor whether or not they were surmounted by little lions set diagonally. The entire balcony undoubtedly rested on consoles which would also have been richly decorated.

A PAINTING BY ERASMUS · BY MAURICE W. BROCKWELL

FINALITY in the minutiae of art-history will never be reached. Still, it is rarely that we come upon an illustrious historical character who is known to the archivist to have painted pictures, although there exists no picture that can be recognized as indisputably his. We have long possessed records of the great Dutch humanist, Erasmus, that showed his early activity as a painter of religious works. But it is only to-day that we can actually locate a picture from his hand. This sole surviving painting by him, his ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, is without doubt the triptych which we now reproduce. On wood, measuring in the center panel 45 inches by 33 inches, it is now in the collection of Mr. E. A. Faust of St. Louis. Its documentary life goes back (to our knowledge) no further than 1850, when it was included (No. 437) in the sale of the collection of the Comte d'Espinoy at Versailles. It is with great detail described in that catalogue, where we read that "soldiers and two men on horseback are near the cross; one of the two mounted men wears, slung from his shoulder, a shield on which is represented a bronze head with the inscription: "E R A S M V S . P . 1 5 0 1."

The catalogue justly points out that "the scarcity of pictures by Erasmus renders this one extremely precious." The Comte, who lived to be eighty-six years of age, had been received as a young soldier by the Buonaparte family at Ajaccio, and in that way there began a friendship with Napoleon which lasted a great many years. This fact is significant, when we recall the large number of pictures removed by Napoleon, and other French generals, from the Netherlands to Paris in 1794. Indeed, this triptych came to this country from France. Nor must we forget that the Comte traced back to Netherlandish ancestors. Pierre de Melun, Prince d'Espinoi, Marquis de Roubaix, Baron d'Antoing de Werchin, et Connétable et Sénéchal héréditaire de Hainault, was a son of Hugues created Prince d'Espinoi in 1545. Their arms were *d'azur à Sept besants d'or 3, 3, et 1; au chef de même*. The same arms are assigned to François de Melun, 31st abbot of the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Designated Bishop of Cambrai in 1502, he became Bishop of Arras in 1509, and from 1515 also occupied the see of Théroutanne. These references to the Espinoy and Melun families are no

mere side issue, as one of Erasmus's patrons was the Bishop of Cambrai whose brother was abbot of the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Indeed, the future humanist—not until now, however, credited by modern writers with ability as a painter—certainly visited St. Bertin's at St. Omer several times in 1500-1501, when this picture was in the making.

In the absence of any heraldic information such as we might have looked for in the triptych, and might have regarded as internal evidence as to its original ownership, we may note that the present work is beyond doubt to be identified with the "magnifique triptyque du célèbre Erasme, signé: Erasmus P. 1501," which was the subject of an article in the Brussels *Journal des Beaux-Arts* of Dec. 15, 1873. The writer, apparently Siret, entitled his article "L'Unique Tableau d'Erasme Retrouvé," and claimed—probably justly—that "les Iconoclastes détruiraient ses tableaux."

The picture is on first sight to be classed as Netherlandish, circa 1490-1500, and seems to indicate the methods and style that obtained in the time of Cornelisz Engelbrechtsen and Jacob Cornelisz van Amsterdam. It bears some relationship to the painting which until lately hung in the south aisle of the Cathedral of St. Sauveur at Bruges, and was assigned by Fierens-Gevaert (*Les Primitifs flamands*, Vol. I, p. 69) to an unknown artist of the year 1500. So loose was the former attribution of pictures in this group that Jakob van Amsterdam's Salome, at The Hague, was at one time or another ascribed to Lucas van Leyden, Quentin Matsys, Albrecht Dürer and Timoteo Viti! Indeed, the correct attribution of our triptych might well have been in doubt for another century or so, had it not been cleaned some six months ago, when the signature and date at last came to light. "Christ on the Cross" is rendered in the center panel, the "Carriage of the Cross" on the dexter wing, and on the sinister "The Deposition." On the backs of the wings are small, full-length figures in grisaille of "Sanctus Piatius" and "S. Vincentius." This triptych is not to be confused with the "Christ on the Cross, with Mary and St. John" which Erasmus painted, as many writers relate, in 1484. Dirk Evertsz van Bleiswyck, writing in 1667, was probably the earliest of writers whose books have survived to record the existence of that picture at Delft; it was known also to Houbraken, who in 1718 records its inclusion in the esteemed cabinet of Prior Cornelius Musius in that city.



ERASMUS: TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Edward A. Faust, St. Louis.



The two-lined inscription, a hexameter and a pentameter, which came to be added to that work, was presumably composed by Musius and added by his direction. It was included in the sale of Jacob de Witt in Amsterdam in 1755 (No. 86), was claimed to be "a genuine picture by Erasmus" and "perhaps that mentioned by Houbraken." But its disappearance from that date onwards justifies our belief that Mr. Faust's triptych is the only extant work by Erasmus.

We recall that in his treatise, in 1529, entitled "*De Pueris Statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis Libellus*," Erasmus insisted that "drawing is attractive to boys . . . it will be found useful to add manual dexterity in painting, modelling and architecture." Again, in his "*De Ratione Studii*," of 1511—ten years later than the date on the present triptych—he contended that "Pictures, charts, maps, even real objects, as in gardens, are of great help in lessons," while "to good narrative power the teacher or parent can add the help of pictorial illustration." In his "*Colloquies*" also he uses the words "*pictura*" and "*pingo*." Yet these were the views of the young man who as a scholar at Montaigu College, under the shadow of the monastery of Ste. Genevieve at Paris, "yawned and dozed." "If you could see me sitting under old Dunder-head," he writes, and again, "I think I am getting on. . . ." So human was our humanist and painter!

Placed at fourteen in the school of the Collationary Brothers at Bois-le-Duc, he seemed destined for a monastic life, but he regarded that school as "a very seed-bed of monkery" and "as a place of education worthless." When little more than seventeen, he began to form an aversion to the cloister's irksome round of what he considered mechanical devotions and the restraints imposed by a conventual environment. At eighteen he painted the picture which, as we have seen, belonged in later times to Prior Musius. Ordained priest in 1492, he became known to Henri de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, who had had the abbey of St. Omer in his eye for his younger brother Antoine and who, in spite of the election of Jacques du Val, succeeded in having that election annulled in favor of his brother. Often in financial straits, as the Bishop failed in his obligations to the young scholar, Erasmus before long received the patronage of Lord Mountjoy, in whose train he visited England for the first time. In January, 1500, he left Oxford for Dover

en route for the Continent. Still he was in great financial difficulty. At that time he wrote to Battus, the tutor of the Lady de Vere, "how many ignorant asses roll in money. I am working hard enough. I spare nothing, not even my health . . . I must have a few crowns from you. I starve for books. Leisure I have none, and I am out of health besides." He was prepared to spend the winter of 1500-1501 at the château de Courtembrune, near St. Omer. In March, 1501, he writes: "I have by a lucky chance got some Greek works, which I am stealthily transcribing night and day." The study of Greek pressed itself more and more on his attention, but teachers of that language were to be had only at some expense. The summer of 1501 he spent with Antoine de Berghes, of whom we have already heard. It was also during that year that, while residing at Tournahens, the famous Clerk Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his "Enchiridion militis Christi." In the same year he was back at the Convent of Steen (where he had been entered as a novice at the age of seventeen), at Dordrecht, Brussels, Antwerp, and St. Omer. He found his monastic habit an incumbrance. He was maturing rapidly and coming to realize that his temperament was that of the scholar and critic rather than of the priest and theologian. Did his love of independence, ever his distinguishing characteristic, induce him to resume his practice of the art of painting? And was his perpetual want of money a reason for his achieving and signing the triptych before us? Even twenty years later he was in the same financial straits, for he wrote of the pension due him from Charles V that "if it is ever paid now, it will come too late, unless indeed there is any use for money in the Elysian fields."

Portraits of Erasmus show how well he knew some of the leading painters of his day. Quentin Matsys, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Holbein the Younger have preserved to us his features, but without giving us a hint, as Dürer might well have done in the Diary he kept during his journey in the Netherlands, of his having practised the art of painting. Perhaps Amiel is correct in concluding that he occupied himself with it "*à titre de délassement*."

Homo fuit atque humanus-Erasmus.

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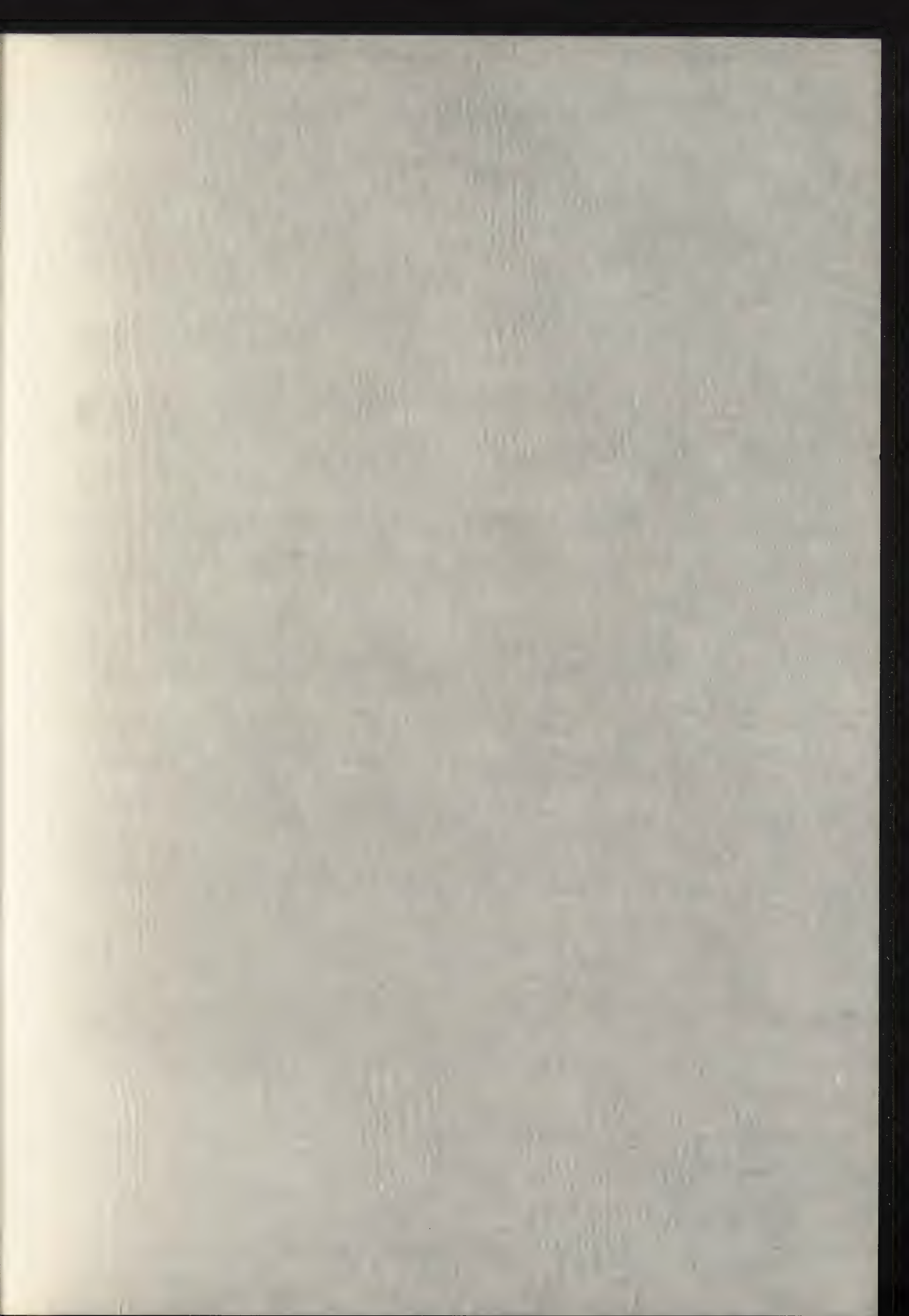
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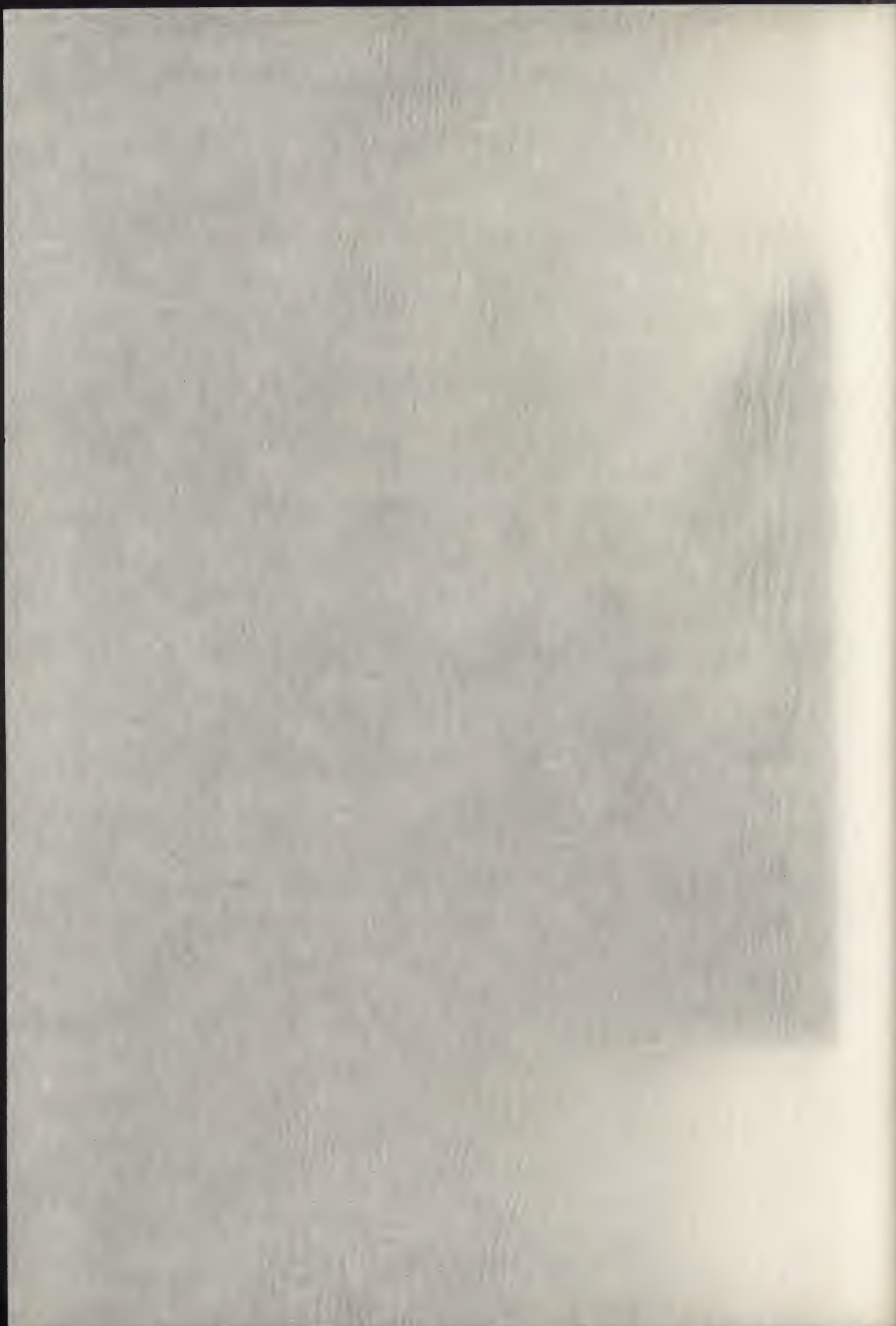
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COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIETO. TRIPTYCH.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME VI NUMBER II · FEBRUARY MCMXVIII

A SIENESE LITTLE MASTER IN NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE · BY BERNARD BERENSON

OFTEN enough one comes across a picture which can be attached to no known painter or group, or even to any other one work which, although remaining unclassified, may have been already a subject of study. Nevertheless this picture may display some quality, some characteristic, some mannerism, or even some absurdity that attracts attention, and puts us on the lookout for its occurrence elsewhere. When we succeed in finding it in another panel we are stimulated to search for a third and a fourth. Needless to add that this something for which we are on the watch, this something so peculiar and characteristic, may be taken in paintings of the same period or school to stand for identity of hand. But as even the humblest artist seldom turns out designs as like as pennies coming from the same mint, any three or four works manifestly by the same painter are pretty sure to betray a certain variety. Thus it happens that these variations retained in our memory suddenly converge upon a picture whose identity has hitherto been a problem and link it to the three or four already set apart, so as to constitute a fairly well-articulated group. At times, but more rarely, the connoisseur is rewarded by discovering a work of known authorship wherewith to head his group; and if the whole has a certain æsthetic value as well he will not be denied the right to indulge for an illusive moment in the raptures of creative research.

Although the method and process are the same, the extreme humility of the few paintings that form the subject of this article afford as reward only the mild pleasure that accrues from the easy exercise of one's faculties. The trained student finds nothing easier than the task just described, and his career will afford him abundant opportunity for performing it.

On my last visit to New York I noticed in the Metropolitan

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Museum a small triptych trimmed with fat little finials like broken and smoothed-over coral branches. (Frontispiece.) On its three panels are the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, among whom we easily distinguish Anthony Abbot, the Baptist, Lucy, Catherine, the Magdalen, Peter and Paul. Above them all in the gables are the Crucifixion and the Annunciation. The saucy female faces with their pointed little noses, sensitive mouths and mad eyes amused me. Although there is small chance that the tenth-rate artist who designed them had any other intention than to make them look like the faces of Andrea Vanni and Bartolo di Fredi and Fei, who evidently inspired him, and although he was too feeble a draftsman to attain even such a modest ambition, so that the resulting features are only accidental, their quaint piquancy is there to be enjoyed. The craftsmanship is good enough to make up to a certain extent for other deficiencies and the whole air of the thing roused in me the curiosity of the absorbed fancier of the painting of Siena whom nothing that that school produced during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can fail to interest. At the time I could not have named its author, but I vaguely recalled other things by the same hand.

Sure enough. Returning to my study and rummaging among my photographs I soon found several.

As close as any to the one in the Metropolitan Museum is another small triptych belonging to Mr. Charles Loeser of Florence (Fig. 2). The same kind of frame with its fat sleek finials, and as representation the Madonna with angels and saints, Andrew and the Baptist, a lady I cannot identify and Catherine, Anthony Abbot and James, and in the gables the Annunciation and the Eternal. The types are nearly the same, with the same absurd little noses and uncertain, quivering mouths, but the whole is less mannered and of better quality. The general impression one receives of its author is that he must have been all but a double of Fei. There is the closest likeness in arrangement, in flow of lines, and even in expression. The Virgin and Child might have been copied from such a well-known design by the last-named artist as his Madonna in S. Domenico at Siena (Fig. 3).

In the Liechtenstein Collection (Fig. 4) at Vienna there is the central panel of yet another triptych representing the Madonna with Peter and Paul, Catherine, and another sainted lady and two angels, and in a medallion above the Eternal blessing. The tiny peaked



Fig. 2. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIETO: TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Charles Loeser, Florence, Italy.





Fig. 3. FEI: MADONNA.
S. Domenico, Siena.



Fig. 4. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIEITO: MADONNA
ENTHRONED.
Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna.



Fig. 5. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIEITO: ASSUMPTION
OF THE VIRGIN.
S. Maria, Bellona.

nose of the Child, the look in the eyes, the flow of the draperies persuade us that it was done by the same little master. Only here he is closer to Vanni, inspired by some such composition by that grave artist as his impressive Madonna and Saints with Mother Eve and the Serpent, now in the public gallery of Altenburg.

No sooner did I come to the conclusion that the trifling paintings just described were from the same hand than they solved a problem which, with hundreds of like preoccupations, had been troubling me for some time.

In the little Umbrian hill town of Bettona frequented by students for its Fiorenzo and Perugino, there is in the church of S. Maria a very attractive Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 5). Our Lady, as frontal and collected as a Buddha, sits enshrined in the midst of seraphim in a *mandorla* which is carried aloft and accompanied by angels wearing garlands. Below, most of the apostles look into her empty tomb, two unexpectedly bless and pray over a saint of much smaller proportions standing between them, while Thomas leaps up in the traditional Sienese way to catch the Madonna's girdle. In the medallions of the modernish frame appear heads of prophets, and in the upper corners of the picture are Moses and Elias with scrolls on which we read the words ECCE VIRGO ASUNTA. In the corresponding corners below are two kneeling donors.

It is a design whose whimsical and exotic types and delicate airiness of movement helped in a measure to prepare a student like myself to prize similar compositions that were being painted at the same time or somewhat earlier in a far distant island known then to the few who had ever heard of it as Cipango. That alone would have kept it fresh in my memory and given me the craving to identify its author.

Until recently authorities were inclined to ascribe it to Bartolo di Fredi, which was not a bad guess. Fei seemed a still better one, and I included this Assumption in the list of his works, placing it, however, in the early and therefore less ascertained phase of his art. But now one need guess no more. The evidence that it is by the author of our three other paintings is clear and decisive. The little pointed noses, the quivering mouths, the look—in brief, the entire cast of countenance—are the same in them all as well as much else besides. It is not necessary to labor a demonstration which

requires the trained and sincere use of the eyes, rather than verbal persuasion.

These four works conjointly, and each several figure they contain, prodded at my memory until it yielded up yet another creation of the same hand; and at last, to my great glee, a signed one, revealing the name of the painter, a certain Cola Petruccioli of Orvieto. We shall see to him in a moment, but first we shall attend to the diptych in the Spello Library (Figs. 6 and 7) that bears this signature, and the date 1385, and satisfy ourselves that it is really the handiwork of the same craftsman that did the other four.

The two panels, ruined and half-effaced but not repainted, were first published some ten years ago by Giustino Cristofani in *Augusta Perusia* (1907, p. 54), and the somewhat mutilated inscription correctly interpreted. The two panels represent the Crucifixion and the Coronation of the Virgin, with the Annunciation in the gables above. The author has so little skill in carrying out his intentions that neither the Mother of Our Lord, nor the Baptist nor Magdalen, has the look of grief and contrition that he must have meant to give them in the presence of Christ crucified. The other scene betrays less incapacity because less is required of the artist. The Angels blow and strum away on their trumpets and viols, the robes and embroideries are gorgeous, and the two principal figures are quaintly impersonal. The quality is inferior, if anything, to the other achievements described, the drawing even more wobbly, the modeling mussy. We may conclude, therefore, that it was done later than those we studied first. Nor is it so unadulteratedly Sienese. Had we no information about these panels I should yet be tempted to think that, owing to a faint infiltration of Alegretto Nuzzi's influence, their author, a Sienese, had painted them in Umbria.

But I have not yet attempted to prove that he also was the author of the four little works that we found to be by the same hand. It suffices to point again to the peaked faces, the noses looking somehow unfinished, the uncertain ill-placed mouths, and in the entire figures the arabesques formed by the draperies. Compare, for instance, the Magdalen with the Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum triptych.

Cola Petruccioli was not absolutely unknown, for Fumi in his magnificent volume on the cathedral of Orvieto published more than



Fig. 6. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIETO: THE
CRUCIFIXION.
Library, Spello.



Fig. 7. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIETO: CORONATION
OF THE VIRGIN, 1385.
Library, Spello.



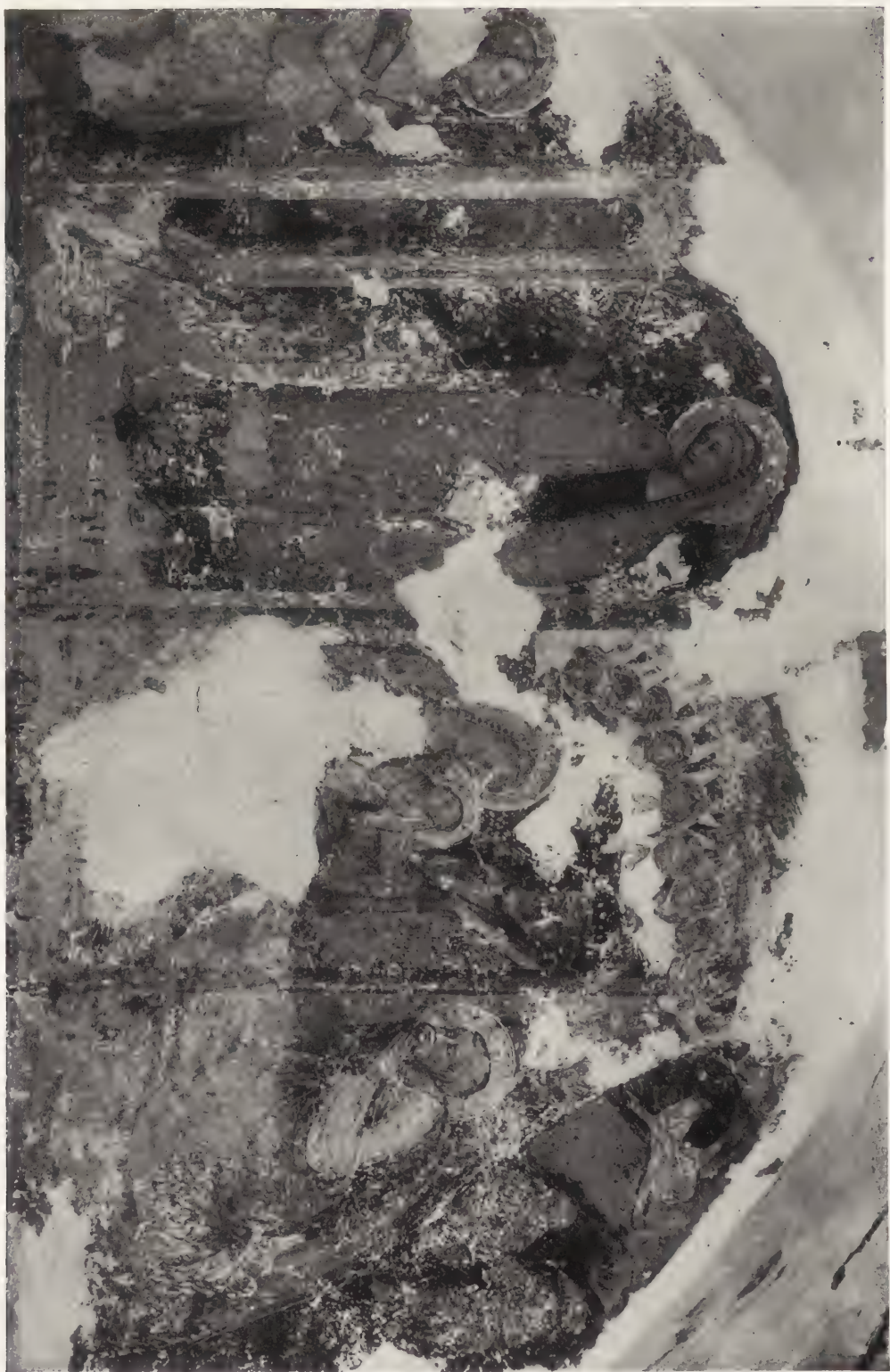


Fig. 8. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI DA ORVIETO: FRESCO.
S. Giocondo, Orvieto.

one document concerning him, and a fresco of the Crucifixion, signed and dated 1380, is still to be seen in the not easily accessible oratory under the choir of that gorgeous edifice. Unfortunately I can offer no reproduction of this design, although it would clench my argument, and strengthen the effort I shall now make at a chronology of this little master's work.

But first just a line about another fresco at Orvieto in the church of S. Giovenale (Fig. 8), which, to my knowledge, has never before been attributed to Petruccioli. It represents the Nativity, the Annunciation and (unreproduced) the Birth of the Baptist. There is a gracious sweetness about the Blessed Virgin which is more than pleasing. When I knew less intimately than I do now the painters of Siena, I was inclined to ascribe this fresco to Bartolo di Fredi, but a moment's comparison with the Spello diptych leaves no doubt that it must have been painted by Cola at nearly the same time. It suffices to compare the angels in the Nativity and in the Coronation.

The earliest probably of the works we have ascribed to Petruccioli is the Assumption at Bettona. It is the least helpless in its mannerisms and most like a normal achievement by a Sienese who follows close in the wake of Barna, the Vannis, and Bartolo di Fredi. Next should be placed Mr. Loeser's triptych, in which Cola approaches as never again to Fei. I have not had the leisure to try to establish the chronology of the last-named painter, or it would be easy to know the exact date of Mr. Loeser's panel. As we observed when making its acquaintance, the Madonna might have been taken over from Fei's at S. Domenico. On the other hand, both may be imitations of a lost original by Andrea Vanni, and in the Liechtenstein Madonna Petruccioli recalls that master directly. Last, but still several years before the dated diptych at Spello, should be placed the little tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum.

Although our modest Orvietan recalls Fei to such a degree that at times it is not easy to keep them apart, it would be rash to conclude that the one was the pupil of the other. A curious coincidence brings it about that the first notice we discover of either goes back to the same year, 1372. Most likely both were pupils of Vanni and Bartolo, and the imprint of the latter remained so indelible that, as we have seen, Petruccioli in his frescoed Nativity, of about 1385, designs a Child that might be his. It is probable, however, that Cola did not remain untouched by his fellow-pupil.

His place is with those minor painters who as craftsmen were, like Fei himself, in the intermittent employ of the great cathedral fabrics to do a bit of new decoration here and a bit of refurbishing there, filling in the intervals with turning out pictures to order, or, as is the case with the little triptychs, for the market. Siena seems to have been particularly rich in such little men, whom indeed Petruccioli recalls, as, for example Francesco Vannuccio, and, a generation later, Tino di Bartolommeo or Nanni di Jacopo. At that time they had to seek a livelihood far away from home, and they can be tracked not only to Pisa but to the most secluded recesses of Umbria and perhaps even to Sicily.

THE DAVIS MADONNA AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM · BY PHILA CALDER NYE

THE Madonna loaned to the Metropolitan Museum by the estate of Theodore M. Davis is a small statue, not more than three-quarters life-size. It is of highly polished marble, and still shows traces of color; some gold on the back of the head of the Child; some blue in the deeper folds of the mantle of the Madonna, and here and there on other parts of the robes dark spots which may once have been color. The statue is now of a creamy tint, tending towards brown. The crown is missing, and there are some minor breaks, but on the whole it is remarkably well preserved. In pose, this Madonna follows the traditions of the Pisan school; she stands with head slightly bent and chest indrawn, as if, in that position, she found it easier to balance the Child upon her left arm. In her right hand is an apple, held up to attract the attention of the Child. The head is covered with a short veil, two points of which fall over her breast. To her shoulders a long mantle is attached, which she seems to have gathered up at each side, holding it in place by means of the pressure of her elbows. This awkward method of gaining the appearance of an apron is not often seen. Usually the effect is produced by draping the mantle over the arms, or by gathering up one side in the free hand. Her long and very full skirt falls in heavy folds to the ground, breaking over the feet and allowing the pointed shoes to be plainly



SCHOOL OF ANDREA PISANO: MADONNA. (Possible work of Tommaso Pisano.)
Collection of the late Theodore M. Davis.

seen. The transition from the close-fitting waist to the gathered skirt is marked by a girdle of double cord, knotted together at intervals, in a manner often seen in Pisan work. The Child resembles a poorly carved, fully draped wooden doll, whose right hand clutches the mother's veil, while the left holds a book.

This statue bears the label "Italian style of Giovanni Pisano, end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century": but one immediately questions this assignment. There is in the same room another small Madonna, also designated as belonging to this school. We do not question the truth of this attribution. But in the Davis Madonna we see other influences not specially Pisan. The delicacy in the treatment of the head of the Davis statue indicates a refined French influence not apparent in any other work of the scholars of the Pisan master. The draperies, too, are strongly reminiscent of French work, even to the mannerism of a mantle held up on the sides by means of the pressure of the elbows. This little peculiarity can be directly paralleled in a fourteenth century Madonna in the Musée Archéologique at Lille. In no works of the immediate followers of Giovanni Pisano can we cite so close an analogy.

In spite, however, of the general French influence seen in this statue, a close comparison with French works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries leads to a belief that this Madonna is too restful to allow us to class it with the works produced by the French schools. The pose is too simple, the facial expression too quiet, to have satisfied a French sculptor of that period. The treatment of drapery, especially of the folds about the feet, is much the same in both countries, but the French sculptor gives more of a sweep and swing, and uses ampler, simpler folds than does the contemporary Italian. Therefore we are obliged to turn to Italy in our search for the artist of this little Madonna. Let us see if we may not, by careful study, find a more satisfactory statement for the label of this rather puzzling work.

Nowhere in the works of Giovanni Pisano, or of his followers, have we been able to find an example analogous to this refined face, with its pure oval shape and delicately cut features. In spite of his departure from the classical methods of work pursued by his father Niccolò, Giovanni held to the strong face with the clear-cut profile. This type was adhered to by his followers in general. But

with Andrea Pisano comes the introduction of a marked change. His faces, though in general stronger than that of the Davis Madonna, do not differ from it very markedly. Hence it seems more logical to connect this statue with the work of Andrea than to hark back to Giovanni. The head of the Child also does not seem to be the outcome of the teachings of Giovanni. In his school, the Child, though still far from the realistic infants of a later period, is otherwise proportioned. The head is larger, and there is more life in the body. Even his incapable followers seem to have held more closely to Giovanni's rules of proportion. A curious little detail may be noticed in the hands of the Madonna. Although the statue is not more than three-quarters life-size, the hands are as large or larger than those of a full-grown woman. They are well carved and excellent in proportion, except when considered in relation to the rest of the work. The peculiarity of large hands may be seen throughout the school of Pisani. They are not always so noticeable, but can be found in almost any group one wishes to examine. It is interesting to note the absence of this trait in French compositions of the same period.

Again, the study of the draperies brings us to the Pisan schools. The French, it is true, followed the same general style, but they worked in a broader way, with a lightness foreign to the Italian. In the latter there is a steady development in drapery treatment. Niccolò began with the broadly blocked-out folds, which were somewhat softened, but still showed angles, in his later works. Giovanni, though often using the same style of drapery, avoided angularity and formed his folds in sweeping lines—a trait so accentuated by his followers as to become very noticeable. But in the hands of Andrea Pisano the draperies lost the mannerism seen in the works of the followers of Giovanni, and became swift, graceful, and alive with meaning. With Andrea's sons, however, they again became slow and heavy, although still partaking somewhat of Andrea's grace. The apron-like draping of the over-mantle persists throughout the school, but it is usually arranged by gathering it up over both arms, and letting it fall softly across the front of the figure, thus making a pleasing break on the sides by means of the falling ends. French artists also used this device, but in a broader way. It is in Italy that we find the multiplication of folds, and the carefully handled falling ends.

In every particular we seem drawn away from the school of Giovanni, and close to that of Andrea, when we examine the Davis Madonna. An exception might be suggested in the use of the girdle, as the late artists generally show the ungirdled form, fashionable in the Trecento; but there can be cited exceptions to this fashion. The work on this statue, in parts, is almost perfect enough to have come from the hands of Andrea himself; but there are too many inequalities noticeable to make us willing to suggest that the work may be his. Andrea had two sons: Nino, who won a place as a worthy second to his father, and Tommaso, who was slow and careful, an artisan rather than an artist, capable, at times, of rising to heights of artistic ability. The latter has left one signed work, the altarpiece of S. Francesco, now in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The subject is a Madonna and Saints, and here, at last, we begin to see some points of resemblance to the Davis Madonna. The pose of the two is not unlike, the heads are set on the shoulders in much the same way, and the necks are strikingly similar. Even the general proportions are much the same. Although the head of the Child in the altarpiece is missing, the bodies are akin in the handling, and the folds of drapery about the knees almost identical. But the greatest point of likeness is found in the draperies of the Davis Madonna and those of some of the saints of the altarpiece. Tommaso was certainly not uniform in his work. Some of his figures, and even parts of the same figure, vary greatly. We find this same uncertainty in the Davis Madonna; in her delicately cut face, but poorly poised body; her heavy draperies broken into fine folds; the doll-like Bambino with its homely head, but as a whole not unpleasing. These characteristics, not found in the works by the followers of Giovanni, are marked in the followers of Andrea, and particularly in the works of Tommaso Pisano.

It therefore seems that a truer attribution of the work would read: School of Andrea Pisano, late fourteenth century; possible work of Tommaso Pisano.

THE PRESUMED PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI BENTIVOGLIO IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM · BY ARDUINO COLASANTI

AMONG the Italian paintings in the Boston Museum is a male portrait by Andrea Solario (Fig. 1), described as a portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio.

This panel made its first appearance in London in 1881, at the Royal Academy exhibition, the owner assigning it to Francesco Francia, an attribution which did not meet the support of the organizers of the exhibit. Offered for sale in May, 1911, with other works of art belonging to Sir William Neville Abdy, this exquisite picture, which figured in the catalogue under the name of Andrea Solario, was secured for the Boston Museum.

C. Phillips, to whom the credit is due of having been the first to exhaustively describe the picture, asserts that the association of the personage depicted with Giovanni II Bentivoglio was "but so much guesswork,"¹ but does not say if his objection rests on any plausible foundation. All that he seems to hint is, that the fact of having changed the authorship of the portrait from Francia to Andrea Solario, and thus sundering its connection with Bolognese art, is sufficient to divest the supposition of its being a portrait of Giovanni Bentivoglio of all semblance of possibility.

Such a conclusion, however, must appear altogether an arbitrary one to all those, no slight number, who consider as a work of Andrea Solario the portrait No. 225 of the Berlin Museum, representing Antonio, son of Sante Bentivoglio.² In this case it would be natural, Solario having had dealings with the Bentivoglio family, to infer that he might have painted the portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, as he had that of his favorite nephew.

¹ C. PHILLIPS, *An Uncatalogued Solario*, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1911, 287; K. BADT, *Andrea Solario. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig, 1914, 190.

² Formerly given to Boltraffio, but BODE on two occasions refers to it as an "echtes und charakteristisches Werk des Solario" (*Galerie in Oldenburg*, Wien, 1888: *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1889, I, 500). MORELLI instead attributes it to Filippo Mazzola (I. LERMOLIEFF, *Kunstkritische Studien über Italienische Malerei. Die Galerie zu Berlin*, Leipzig, 1893, 130). BERENSON adopts Bode's view (*The North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, London, 1909, 293) which was contradicted by BADT (op. cit. 160-161). LISA DE SCHLEGEL does not remember the Berlin portrait (*Andrea Solario*, in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1913, 89, 105). A cursory recognition as a member of the Bentivoglio family appears in Waagen's old Catalogue, subsequently stated to be Antonio, son of Sante, the favorite of Giovanni II (H. POSSE, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Die romanischen Länder*, Berlin, 1913, 86). A bare glance at the Berlin Museum portrait shows the exactness of this identification, so unmistakable are the characteristic features of the Bentivoglio family manifest.

Mr. Phillips' view was not held to be altogether satisfactory by the management of the Boston Museum, where Solario's picture still bears the title of Giovanni II Bentivoglio.¹

As a matter of fact, no generic reasoning, but plain specific comparisons can show that it is neither a portrait of Giovanni, nor even of any member of his family.

Of Giovanni II there are numerous medals and coins whereon the head of the mighty prince who ruled Bologna from 1463 to 1509 is shown under different aspects of age and apparel, side and full face. In these his appearance is, as may be supposed, not altogether uniform. Apart from any differences of detail, arising from changeable conditions of health in various periods of his career, the peculiar impressions of each artist are infused into the work, which assumes ever-varying forms of expression. As an instance, the profile of Giovanni II on Francia's coins is somewhat dissimilar to that seen on the medals of Sperandio, who has given the mighty lord of Bologna a harsh, worried look, eyes deeply sunk, owing to a defect in the nose, starting from a sharp angle in the brow, and a crease in the skin below the cheekbone which give a sour look to the whole countenance. Francia, on the other hand, has obviously idealized his subject by softening the defect in the nose, and in the natural roundness of the face has rendered the transparency of the cheekbone less apparent.

I have purposely referred to these points of difference, to support my conclusion that none of the many coins and medals of Giovanni II bear even the slightest resemblance to the man depicted on the Boston Museum panel.

Leaving the field of numismatic proof, much more useful and conclusive comparative estimates may be instituted with the aid of existing portraits of Giovanni II, both in painting and sculpture.

Among the former, the earliest I know is the group of Bentivoglio and all the members of his family represented by Lorenzo Costa, in the act of praying before the Virgin, in the picture standing in the family chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna (Fig. 2). This panel, signed, as will be remembered, by the author, bears the date of 1488, and Giovanni II, then in his forty-fifth year, is depicted in the full plenitude of his mature powers. The features,

¹ J. G., *Recent Acquisitions of the Department of Paintings, in Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, October 1911, No. 53; 44-45; *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1914, 145.

which are cleverly reproduced, are, with slight differences, those which appear on the coins, medals and other portraits of him.

Somewhat later in date is the portrait in a diptych of the Dreyfus Collection in Paris, wherein a follower of Francesco del Cossa has represented Giovanni II and his wife Ginevra Sforza facing each other, after the manner of the model furnished by Cossa in his twin portrait of the Gazzadini couple recently on view in an art store in Paris.

A third portrait of Bentivoglio (Fig. 3) hangs in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. Unfortunately, it is impossible to decipher the date which undoubtedly stood alongside the signature of Lorenzo Costa, but it was obviously painted much later than 1488. Giovanni herein appears somewhat older than in the S. Giacomo Maggiore panel; the eye is duller, the features more careworn, the fulness of the body having had a depressing effect on the powerful energy of a will born to command.

Moreover, the style of Lorenzo Costa in this picture exhibits a fuller degree of maturity than appears in the Triumphs of the Bentivoglio chapel, which, as asserted by Lamo, were completed in 1490. The painter, by discarding the scheme of Cosmè Tura, has gained greater freedom, securing more relief effect and a livelier and more powerful structure.

There are still two other portraits of Giovanni II in the family chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore, one being the notable relief bearing the scroll "Antonius Bal. Annum agens XVIII" (Fig. 4). It is similar to the portrait on the corner buttress of the Bellei house at Bologna, recovered from the ruins of the Bentivoglio palace, and is a reproduction of one of the coins engraved by Francia. The date marked under the thickness of the bust proves it to have been executed in 1497. The other portrait, though freely repainted in the eighteenth century, still exhibits in a clear manner the striking features of Bentivoglio and appears in one of the round subjects of the spandrels of the chapel ceiling, which, according to the plausible suggestion of Venturi, was painted about the year 1498.¹

It seems to me beyond the purpose to pursue this research any further, seeing that we have already sufficient data to warrant the exclusion of the Andrea Solario in the Boston Museum from the number of acknowledged portraits of Giovanni II Bentivoglio. The

¹ A. VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, Milano, 1914, VII, p. III, 778.



Fig. 1. ANDREA SOLARIO: PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 2. LORENZO COSTA: DETAIL: PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI II BENTIVOGLIO.
Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna.

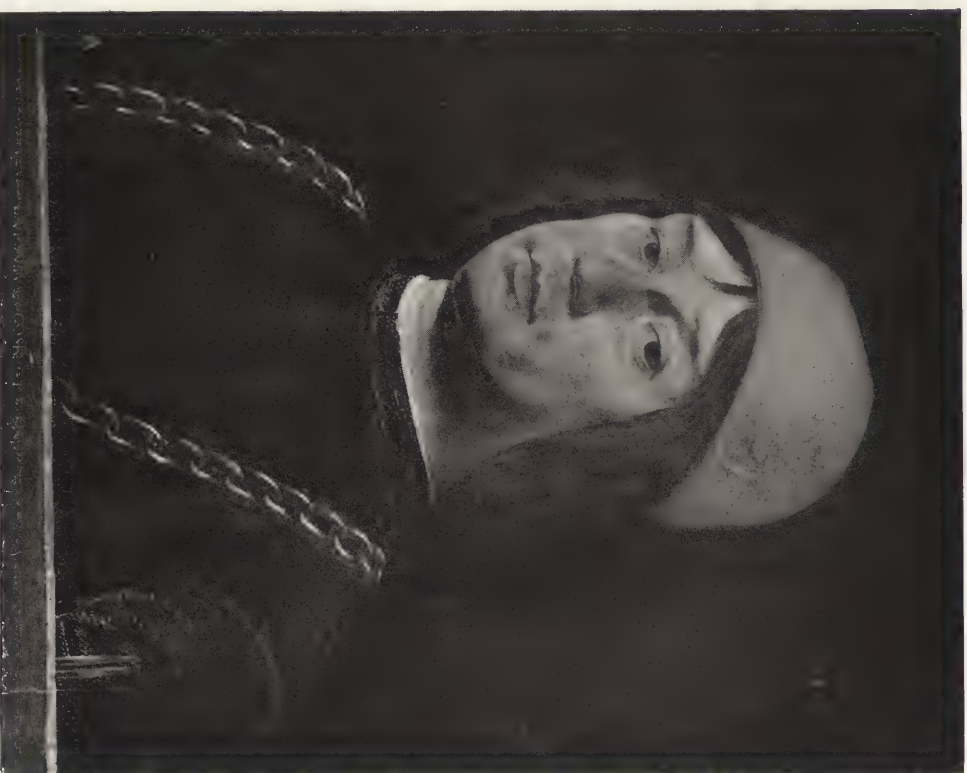


Fig. 3. LORENZO COSTA: PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI II BENTIVOGLIO.
Pitti Gallery, Florence.



Fig. 4. ANTONIO BAI: PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI II BENTIVOGLIO.
Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna.



latter in fact, in the medals and coins of Francia and Sperandio, in the S. Giacomo Maggiore panel, in the Dreyfus diptych, in the circular fresco of the family chapel at Bologna, in the relief of the ever mysterious sculptor Antonius Bal, in the Pitti Palace panel, in a number of genuine representations showing him in varied attitudes and at different periods of life, appears of a muscular build, inclined to corpulence, of a fiery temperament which time might partly subdue, but never quench. The personage depicted in the Boston panel exhibits a slim, pointed cartilaginous nose, a broad bony chin divided by a deep fissure, a wide thin straight mouth, abnormally large and prominent cheekbones, the lower jaw narrowing at its junction with the upper, and seemingly strengthened towards the chin, to which it turns almost at a right angle. The arched eyebrows, starting from the bridge of the nose, rise with a marked curve, which, strengthening in the thickest point, descends abruptly, ending in the segment of a straight line. The result is an irregular but powerful cast of features, the face divided into wide, flat, and, it might be said, geometric spaces, which from a front point of view seem to surround its outline as in a hexagonal figure.

Giovanni Bentivoglio, on the contrary, had a round face in which the protuberance of the cheekbones is lightly, if at all, marked. The lower jaw, powerfully developed at the joint, gradually attenuates its relief into a soft, regular curve. The chin is small, round and chubby, and lacks the characteristic dimple of the personage shown in the Boston Museum panel. The nose, very full, curves downward, broader at the end; the mouth is small, with a turgid lower lip, the upper being formed like a circumflex accent, and exactly divided by a deep vertical indentation, extending to the nostril. The eyebrow is in the form of a depressed arch widely developed on its ample outline.

If the name of the generous prince who for forty-six years held sway in Bologna, expending vast sums in collecting art treasures within his almost regal abode, is to be excluded, I am at a loss what other name to suggest as the probable individual represented in the glorious Boston Museum painting.

The problem of his identity remains unsolved. Students of the period of the Italian Renaissance have the field open for pursuing further research.

AN EARLY AMERICAN ARTIST: HENRY BEMBRIDGE
BY W. ROBERTS

IT is a generally accepted axiom that there was no Early American School of Artists; but, like many other age-respected theories, this particular one will not stand any test. Anyone at all familiar with that valuable book, Dunlap's "History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States," 1834, will know that there were very many native-born artists during Colonial times, and that Benjamin West, Copley and Gilbert Stuart were not by any means the only Americans who did great work in painting. It is true they have for a century overshadowed most of the other men who were contemporary with them, and they will probably continue to do so until some accomplished student like Mr. Charles Henry Hart brings out a revised and illustrated edition of Dunlap.

In the meanwhile I would like to call attention to one very promising subject of inquiry—Henry Bembridge, who was, according to Dunlap, born in Philadelphia about 1750. He is described as a gentleman by birth, is stated to have had a good classical education, and to have married a Miss Sage of Philadelphia. After his return from some years' study in Italy, he settled in Charleston, S. C., whence he removed to his native city after the Revolution, and where, after a residence at Norfolk, Va., he died "in obscurity and poverty." Even in Dunlap's time Bembridge's portraits appear to have become rare, and neither Dunlap nor any of those who supplied him with details appears to have thought very highly of them.

A fortunate little bookhunting "find" has put me in the way of tracing what must be Bembridge's masterpiece, the whole-length life-size portrait of Pasquale Paoli, the famous Corsican patriot. Dunlap "supposed" that Bembridge visited Italy about 1770, but by that year he had finished his course of studies there—presumably three years. It is more than probable that he was born before 1750, perhaps four or five years earlier, and it is equally probable that he returned to America before 1774, the date suggested by Dunlap.¹ There can be no doubt that Benjamin West's success inspired the younger artist to visit Europe, as, a few years later, it induced John Singleton Copley and many others. So, too, just as West (who was in Italy from 1760 to 1763) received instruction and advice from the

¹ Since the foregoing was written Mr. Hart tells me that Bembridge was born in 1744 and died in 1820.

two great Italian rival teachers, Battoni and Mengs, three or four years later Bembridge likewise benefited by their counsels. Probably Bembridge, like West, entered neither artist's *atelier*, but studied the old masters in Rome and other parts of Italy, and simply availed himself of the advice which he from time to time sought from the two leading artists of the period. West had acquired much more than the rudiments of his profession before he left America, and it is fairly certain that Bembridge also had made great progress before starting for Europe. All that we know of Bembridge's movements, except that he studied under, or received advice from, Battoni and Mengs, is nothing. It may be that family or other archives in the United States will one day reveal letters to his relations and friends such as we have of Copley and others; but until then we can only piece together a few fragments of what may be termed circumstantial evidence.

One of these fragments is that Bembridge during his stay in Italy must have come into contact with James Boswell on his tour of the Continent during 1765-66, which included a lengthy stay in Corsica, and of which he published an "Account" in 1768. In the 1769 exhibition of the Free Society of Artists held "at Mr. Christie's Great Room, near Cumberland House, Pall Mall," and among the "omitted" pictures (*i.e.* those which came in after the body of the catalogue was set up), No. 258 is "Pascal Paoli, the General of the Corsicans—a whole length," by "Mr. Bembridge, in Italy." Attached to my example of this Catalogue (the little "find" previously mentioned) are two copies of a single leaf on which is printed an appeal for funds on behalf "of the distressed widows and families of the brave Corsicans." But what more nearly concerns the subject of the present paper is the following extremely interesting passage:

"A Capital whole-length Picture of the illustrious Pascal Paoli, General of the Corsicans; painted for James Boswell, Esq., of Auchinleck. Mr. Boswell sent, for this purpose, to Corsica last summer [1768], Mr. Henry Bembridge, an American artist, who had finished his studies in Italy; and, amidst all the fatigues and dangers of war, his Excellency was pleased to sit, to indulge the earnest desire of his ever zealous friend [Boswell]. When the picture was brought to Leghorn, all who had seen the General thought it a striking likeness. The Grand Duke of Tuscany expressed a desire to see it, upon which it was sent to Florence, where it was much admired by the Grand Duke and Duchess, and all the Court."

The leaflet is signed by James Boswell, and is dated May 8th, 1769. It ends with the announcement that "a fine mezzotint, from the original painting, 20 in. x 14 in., will be published in a few days by Carrington Bowles, in St. Paul's Churchyard." The engraving, and a very fine one it is, is dated May 1st, 1769, and bears the Virgilian legend "*Vincet amor Patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido.*" It shows Paoli standing in the rocky landscape of his own country, in dark coat and vest embroidered with gold, dark knee-breeches and white stockings, his right hand holding a baton which rests on a rock. There is no name of the engraver, but Chalonier Smith and others attribute it to John Raphael Smith, who was only seventeen years of age at the time; and there can be little doubt that it was the first of the brilliant series of mezzotints which place him at the head of the English School of engravers in this line. There is a half-length of the same whole-length dated May 8th, 1769, and inscribed "*J. Smith fecit,*" from which it may be assumed that the whole-length print had a great and immediate success, and that the publisher felt there was a good market for a smaller one at a lower price. The portrait shows us a man of striking individuality, and we know from Fanny Burney that he was "a very pleasing man, tall and genteel in his person, remarkably well-bred, and mild and soft in his manners."

Boswell could not have selected a more opportune time to have Bembridge's portrait of Paoli exhibited and engraved, for, by a happy coincidence, the Corsican General was compelled to seek an asylum in England early in 1769, and among those recorded in the newspapers as having called on the General at his apartments in Bond Street were the Duke of Grafton, Horace Walpole and William Beckford. Among those who exhibited his portrait at the Royal Academy from 1771 to 1804 were Cosway (this portrait is now in the Royal Gallery, Venice), Lawrence, Pellegrini, W. Lane and others. In connection with Boswell's employing an unknown young American artist to paint this portrait (which is still owned by his descendants), it will be interesting to Americans to point out that Dr. Johnson's biographer sympathized with them in their great struggles a few years later. Writing to his friend Temple on August 12th, 1775, he says: "I am growing more and more of an American. I see the unreasonableness of taxing them



HENRY BEMBRIDGE: PASQUALE PAOLI.
From the engraving of Bembidge's Portrait now in England.



without the consent of their Assemblies; I think our Ministry are mad in undertaking this desperate war."

Many pages might be written concerning the portrait, its subject, its artist and its owner, but perhaps sufficient has been said to draw attention to a painter who, whatever his later and less spontaneous achievements, must in future rank among American artists with West, Copley and Gilbert Stuart. But the Paoli portrait is not the only one which Bembridge painted and exhibited in Europe. He, in fact, exhibited two others, both of these at the second exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1770. They were each catalogued simply as a "Portrait of a Gentleman," and Horace Walpole has written in his copy of the catalogue against one of these, No. 14, a half-length (probably 50 in. by 40 in.), "Dr. Franklin of Philadelphia." This opens up a problem perhaps not easily solved. I can find no record of the existence of Bembridge's portrait of Franklin, and I do not think that Walpole could have made any mistake, for he knew Franklin. Among the guests at the Royal Academy dinner of that year we find the names of the Hon. Mr. H. Walpole and the "Rev. Dr. Franklin"; the "Rev." was probably a reporter's slip. Franklin was at this time residing in Craven Street, Strand, and it is still more interesting to point out that Bembridge had evidently left Italy *en route* for America, as his address in the catalogue is given as Panton Square, in the Haymarket. Franklin's residence was within a few minutes' walk. I do not find Bembridge's name even mentioned in any of the recent editions of Franklin's "Life," but having his portrait painted was no uncommon experience with the great philosopher, and so it would not have occurred to him to refer to the circumstance in any of his letters home. The desire to further the success of a young compatriot is one that would have appealed to Franklin, who would have been readily accessible to a promising artist *en route* to the native land of both. It is more than probable that Bembridge's representation of him is now masquerading under the name of some other artist or perhaps even as by some "unknown" painter.

THE ALMSGIVER, PAINTED IN THE STYLE OF
VELASQUEZ'S FIRST PERIOD · BY REGINALD
POLAND

AN old sea-captain, who made his course between the Mediterranean Sea and our country, in 1847 bought in Spain a painting showing a beggar receiving a coin from a youth. For seventy years this canvas remained in the possession of his family and is now owned by Mr. Douglas John Connah of Boston.

A beggar, supported by a staff, leans forward to receive in his hat a coin from a well-dressed youth. The beggar wears a homely brown mended coat and light sash, while the other wears a rich dark velvet coat with slashed sleeves, white collar and black skull cap with ostrich plumes. The gray head and wrinkled brow, contrasting with the youthful well-rounded features of the boy, add interest. Trees and clouds, scarcely more than suggested, form an unobtrusive, decorative background. The sky in color is dark blue-green, with cloud passages in pale brown. The canvas is in general dark in tonality and almost a monochrome. When it came into the possession of the present owner, it already had been rebacked. This had been done in Spain, and had evidently slightly reduced the original area of the painting. Portions appear on the edge of the present stretcher. Including these with the present visible area, we obtain as the approximate original size of the canvas $49\frac{1}{4} \times 29\frac{3}{4}$ inches. In Boston Mr. J. E. McAlpine, an expert restorer from England, did no more than to clean the canvas, adding no paint.

In general treatment the work is of the Tenebroso manner. The figures are well generalized. It is well composed in mass, with a pleasing curve, running from the beggar's hand and terminating in the boy's left hand. The figures have a satisfactory relationship to the outline of the canvas. Throughout, the subject is conceived objectively and such a scene might happen anywhere, but most probably in Spain, Italy or Holland, at this period. The types are not Northern, though the lighting and broad treatment are similar to what might appear in Dutch painting. Of Italy we shall speak. But in Spain such subjects begin to come into art in the first of the seicento.¹ The Dutch genre painting had a strong influence in Spanish painting of this type.

¹ An early example may be found in the "Lazarillo de Tormes," by Mendoza, 1553.



VELASQUEZ: THE ALMSGIVER.
Property of Mr. Douglas John Connah, Boston.



The work of Caravaggio (1569-1609) is similar in a general way. Pacheco speaks of him as a valiant imitator of nature and says that in this he resembled the Spanish. In such a way, he says, Ribera was painting, and also Velasquez, Pacheco's son-in-law. Though the Italian painted in this *Tenebroso* manner, used a trap door to get the same light effects as are here, and made use of persons from the streets for models, he depicted Italian types that were different from the purely Spanish types of our pictures and worked technically in a smoother manner.

The types are Spanish in this picture, which we call the "Almsgiver." The hair before the ear of the youth is one indication of which examples are too numerous to cite. The beggar is Spanish,¹ with typical staff and hat. The youth has the feather to be seen in Spain at this time, the early *seicento*.² Black was worn by the youth as well as by the men. The slit sleeve is of this period.³ We learn that at this time there was so great extravagance of dress that in 1623 a decree was issued against such practice. Lace collars were replaced by the *golilia* or the starched type.⁴ Feathers then were not in the best style.⁵

Ribalta of Spain was famous for such *chiaroscuro*, but his is more harsh and less mellow than that of our painting. Ribera studied under Caravaggio in Naples in 1606, but in him again the *chiaroscuro* is harsher and smoother. Ribera is subjective and dramatic. His figures, where they resemble our old man, lack subtlety and come toward the beholder. His "Martyrdom of St. Andrew" at Budapest shows this, as also the "St. Christopher" of the Prado. The "St. Andrew" of the Prado and the "Hermit in Prayer" of the same museum are very similar, but are stronger in light and shade contrast, with hands that are old and wrinkled in the bloodless skin. The type of man is here different.

His treatment of the same type of boy⁶ is subjective and of harsh *chiaroscuro*. Thus in Ribera where types approach our work, the figures are inferior in delicate modeling. Nor do his works

¹ E. von Cuendras, "Spanien," 1849, opp. p. 168.

² As in:—"Zur Geschichte des Costüms," Plate 1. Spanish type of early 17th century. Slit sleeve also.

³ "Coleccion de Trajes de España," No. 66, by Manuel de la Cruz (Boy here has big round hat, black coat, and sleeves hanging below wrists).

⁴ Velasquez: Prince Balthazar Carlos, c. 1639. Walter Gensel: Velasquez (English Edition, Plate 61).

⁵ *Cyclopedia of Costume*, Vol. 2, pp. 261-2.

⁶ A. L. Mayer: Ribera. Taf. xvii, p. 108.

have such reserve. The older Herrera, Velasquez's first master, did not paint the same types. Certain of his features are here evident, such as a feeling for texture, characterization, for foreshortening and perspective, but he worked more subjectively and with paint applied in a more liquid manner. Such differences in our work are typical of Zurbarán, called "the Caravaggio of Spain." As pointed out, the type of dress would preclude Murillo (1613-85), a later painter who did execute such scenes. Murillo is always more subjective and emotional, while different again in types.

In Sevilla was a painter executing such work in the first of the seicento. Sir J. C. Robinson¹ says that Velasquez (1599-1660) was the first to be successful in this way, if not the innovator. For five years, at least, before 1623 this painter was at work with Pacheco in Sevilla. Pacheco's works, by the way, fail to show real resemblance to the "Almsgiver" and are more subjective. In 1623 Velasquez went to Madrid, giving up such work because influenced by Caravaggio and Guido. That he was the first in these "bodegones" is known from his statement that he preferred to be first in that humble walk to being second in the higher caste of historic painting. The painting was solid with unchanging colors on a dark reddish brown ground, says the critic quoted.

Palomino says² that Velasquez painted these bodegones "with perfect imitation of nature, with beautiful fields, etc.," "gaudy, poor and humble persons with such powerful drawing and color that they appear natural." Our canvas is characteristic of Spain and of Velasquez's early manner. At this time this artist left canvases with the old man and boy subject. Palomino mentions the "Water Carrier" or "Aguador."³ Beruete, the great Velasquez authority, places such works between 1615 and 1623.⁴ Even in religious scenes he used homely figures and dress. The studio in which they were painted was lighted by a window high up to the left, Beruete states.

The first authentic work, "The Water Carrier of Sevilla," is in the Duke of Wellington collection. The skin of the old man is brown and leathery. Especially to be noted are the wrinkled brow of the man and the types of both man and youth. The relation of the composition to the frame and the foreshortened man's hand are note-

¹ Burlington Magazine, Vol. X, pp. 172-7.

² Museo Artístico. Vol. 3, p. 322.

³ Palomino (as above), Ill. W. Gensel, *op. cit.*, pl. 7. 38½ by 32 in.

⁴ On the "bodegones," cf. Beruete y Moret, *Burl. Mag.* XXIV, p. 127, and the chronological list in his "Velasquez"; also J. C. Robinson, *Burl. Mag.* X, p. 172.

worthy. Oblique upper lighting is evident. Of this period is the "Adoration of the Magi" of 1619.¹ Here at the left is an old man with gray beard, and a youth just above. The light is as in the "Aguador." The landscape is scarcely more than suggested. Dark green is employed in the work. After this comes the "Breakfast" of the Hermitage with the same old man with face as before.² The light falls much as before and the Tenebroso is evident. Just after the "Aguador" Beruete places the "St. Peter" of his own collection,³ and the "Christ and the Pilgrims of Emmaus."⁴ The light on the shoulders of St. Peter and of a figure of the latter picture are to be noted. The general lighting is as before. The former has a landscape of the type seen in the "Adoration."

Now in the work before us the light comes from above, but from the right. In most studios a picture might be so placed as to receive light from one side at one time or from another at another time, unless the space of the studio be too restricted. In feeling, the light on the hands and wrinkled brow resembles that of the "Aguador" and "Breakfast" and of the face of the youth in these and in the "Adoration." Light rests on the shoulder of the beggar, outlining it as in the "Adoration" and "St. Peter" examples. The figures are cut off below, as in the "Aguador." Though the bodegones vary in measure, the "Aguador" is the closest. The same old man as in the "Almsgiver" occurs in the "Breakfast" and "Adoration." The boy is almost identical with that of the "Aguador," but older than in the "Aguador's" forerunner, the "Breakfast," though identical in ear, hair and nose. Other parallels are in the brown skin and tunic, and in the red on the lips of the youths. Robinson mentions a red-brown ground in the "Aguador." It is evident here by the face of the beggar, in type so like that of a "Los Borrachos" head.⁵ We may well speak of this as a work in the style of Velasquez, when busy with such works as the "Adoration" and, especially, the "Aguador" and "Breakfast," of c. 1620. If by Velasquez, or by a close follower, or done in imitation of that master, resemblance to Ribera, whom we would exclude, may be due to the fact that Velasquez's prototype, if not his master, in nature was Ribera. The "Span-

¹ Ill. W. Gensel. *op. cit.*, pl. 11. Prado 1054. 79½ by 49 in.

² W. Gensel. *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

³ W. Gensel. *op. cit.*, pl. 9. 38½ by 32 in.

⁴ W. Gensel. *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

⁵ W. Gensel. *op. cit.*, pl. 20. 1629.

ish Beggar,"¹ which most critics exclude from the list of Velasquez's works,² with crutch, globe and wine jar, is like the type of beggar mentioned above for Spain. Robinson³ accepts it as by Velasquez, saying that the type of beggar and pottery is Spanish. If by Velasquez, and of the Robinson date, the new type of old man could be explained by the fact that the artist had left Sevilla by this time. The background is typical of Velasquez, 1623-24. The chiaroscuro, though dryer, the crutch helping the composition, the stitches and dull red ground find parallels in our work. Our work is very close to this picture, often conceded to be in the Velasquez tradition.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO MR. McFADDEN'S COLLECTION • BY W. ROBERTS

LONG since the largest and most interesting, as well as the only exclusively British collection of pictures in the United States, the gallery of Mr. John H. McFadden of Philadelphia has lately received a number of additions of more than ordinary importance. In spite of all temptations to extend the scope of his activities as a picture collector, Mr. McFadden remains loyal to the British school, and his recent additions strengthen and consolidate a collection already without a rival. Of the ten new pictures, four are by artists hitherto unrepresented—an early Richard Wilson, a splendid Crome from the Mrs. Joseph Collection, and a pair of amusingly clever pictures by William Williams, an English artist almost entirely unknown except through the engravings by Jukes of Mr. McFadden's two pictures.

Among the portraits the finest addition of all is the splendid three-quarter-length Romney of Lady Grantham (Fig. 1), the younger of the two daughters of the second Earl of Hardwicke, and the wife of Thomas Lord Grantham (they were married on August 17, 1780), the distinguished politician who had acted as Ambassador in Spain, and at home as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and who conducted the preliminaries of peace with France. Lord Grantham was her senior by nearly twenty years, their married life was brief, for he died in 1786, and she survived him some forty-four years, dying in 1830. Lady Grantham, by birth

¹ Cook Coll., Richmond. W. Gensel. *op. cit.*, pl. 163.

² As: Beruete, Justi, W. Gensel.

³ Burlington Magazine, X, p. 183, dates it 1622-3.



Fig. 1. ROMNEY: LADY GRANTHAM.
Collection of Mr. John H. McFadden.



Fig. 2. RAEBURN: ALEXANDER SHAW.
Collection of Mr. John H. McFadden.



Fig. 3. RICHARD WILSON: VIEW ON THE THAMES WITH WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.
Collection of Mr. John H. McFadden.



Fig. 4. CONSTABLE: DELL IN HELMINGHAM PARK.
Collection of Mr. John H. McFadden.



as well as from her husband's political eminence, mixed in the highest circles of London social life, and appears, as a young woman, to have met with the approval of so exacting a judge as Horace Walpole, who regarded her as "very tolerable," as "well-dressed" and as behaving "like a human being, and not like her sister or a college tutor." Lord Grantham before his marriage had sat to Romney, so he evidently appreciated his work, for he sent his wife to Romney, and not to either Reynolds or Gainsborough, to have her portrait painted. She sat six times from December 15, 1780, to March 5, 1781, the artist receiving 36 guineas, or a trifle less than \$200, as his fee. A companion portrait of Lord Grantham was being painted at the same time, and on one occasion, February, 1784, both sat on the same day.

There were no children of the marriage, and the Grantham pictures were inherited eventually by the late Lord Cowper, and hung at Wrest Park until Lord Cowper was succeeded by his kinsman Lord Lucas, who sold the Romney portrait of Lady Grantham indirectly to Mr. McFadden. It has never been exhibited in England, but a fine mezzotint by Mr. Norman Hirst has lately been issued in London. When a child, Lady Grantham with her sister sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for a fine group which is familiar to collectors through E. Fisher's engraving (1762). Even if one knew nothing of her parentage a moment's glance would be sufficient to convince one that the lady in Romney's portrait was a person of distinction. She is more human, perhaps, than either Reynolds or Gainsborough would have painted her. There is the trace of a smile on her lips, and an air of great good humor in her whole expression. She is seated in an open autumnal landscape, by the trunk of a tree, with the effects of the setting sun. Her dress is a creamy-white satin, and the overdress of a rich scarlet, toned down by the white full trimming of the short sleeves. Her dark hair is dressed in a style which of itself would prove the date of the picture, had there been no Romney "diaries" to go upon; for it was the transition period, the very high dressing of the hair in fashion during the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, gradually giving way about 1780 to a much lower style of arrangement. A splendid picture of a graceful woman, this is one of Romney's best portraits of the period.

Of Mr. McFadden's second Romney, "Little Bo-Peep," there

are scarcely any details available, beyond the facts that in 1885 it was lent to the Old Masters at Burlington House, London, by Mr. Edwin Humby, and that later on it became the property of Sir Hugh Lane. It is an attractive picture of a pretty little girl in the character of Shepherdess. It may possibly be a portrait of his own child, who died quite young, or else the daughter of one of his friends. It was doubtless painted rather as a labor of love than as a commission, and forms an unusual but none the less welcome note in Romney's art life.

Mr. McFadden's new Raeburn is the eighth by that master in the collection. It is a bust portrait of Alexander Shaw (Fig. 2), concerning whom and whose family nothing definite has so far been revealed. This is often the case with portraits bought from the descendants of those for whom they were originally painted. It is often one of the conditions of such private sales that the exact identity of the personage represented be repressed, although the selling of family portraits is by no means a rare occurrence. This portrait of Alexander Shaw is a very fine example of "the Scottish Van Dyck," with its Herculean head set firmly on its broad shoulders. It is worthy to rank with the famous picture of Lord Newton, and both are typical of that strong, vigorous old age which no other artist could paint with such success as Raeburn.

Two superb examples of English landscape art, both from Mrs. Joseph's collection, are also among the new additions to this gallery. Mr. McFadden already possessed Constable's "The Lock," a version, perhaps the original one in oils, of the Royal Academy picture, "A Boat Passing a Lock" of 1824. The new Constable is a view of the Dell in Helmingham Park (Fig. 4), a delicious picture of the highest quality, and particularly interesting because this Park was a favorite place for sketching with Constable for many years. "I am alone among the oaks and solitudes of Helmingham Park," he writes in 1800, and "there are abundance of fine trees of all sorts." Thirty years later he was still harking back to this fine old English park, for at the Academy of 1830 he exhibited another view of one of the romantic dells at Helmingham, the residence of the Countess of Dysart, his early and constant patron.

The new John Crome, also from the Joseph Collection, is a typical landscape of the great founder of the Norwich school. It represents a group of ancient trees at the edge of a plantation, with



Fig. 5. R. P. BONINGTON: NORMANDY COAST.
Collection of Mr. John H. McFadden.



Fig. 6. GEORGE MORLAND: THE COTTAGER'S FAMILY.
Collection of Mr. John H. McFadden.



early autumn tints, extremely realistic with its admirably manipulated effects of light and shade. Richard Wilson's view on the Thames with Westminster Bridge (Fig. 3) is especially interesting as an early example of this great landscape painter; it is signed and dated 1745. It takes in both sides of the river, and the cupola in the distance, hitherto described as the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, is probably that of Bedlam Asylum on the Surrey side of the river. The buildings on the left are the old Houses of Parliament, the destruction of which in 1834 is so vividly seen in another of Mr. McFadden's pictures, that by J. M. W. Turner. George Morland is also represented among the new pictures by a charming group known as "The Cottager's Family" (Fig. 6), a subject which he painted more than once; this also came from Mrs. Joseph's collection, which, it may be added, was formed chiefly on the advice of Sir Walter Armstrong, the former Director of the Dublin National Gallery.

For some years Mr. McFadden has been seeking a fine example of R. P. Bonington, the Anglo-French artist whose early death robbed art of a young man of great achievements and still greater promise. It was not until a few months ago that a splendid example of this artist came into the market and was promptly secured for this collection. It is a brilliant coast scene (Fig. 5) in Normandy, where Bonington found so much inspiration; it was for many years in the collection of the late T. O. Barlow, the eminent engraver, who lent it to Burlington House in 1884, and from whose possession it passed into that of the late Mr. David Jardine of Woolton, Liverpool.

Finally there are the companion pair of pictures by William Williams, already mentioned. These are not here reproduced, as the engravings by Jukes with the titles of "Gallantry" and "Marriage," although rare, are well known to collectors. Both pictures, which measure twenty-four by nineteen inches, are signed and dated Bath 1786. Very little is known concerning the artist, and his pictures very rarely occur in the market, but that he was an artist of much more than average ability is seen by the skill and freedom shown in this attractive pair of landscapes, each with its respective "story."

EARLY WORKS BY REMBRANDT

IN the list of works by Rembrandt in American collections published by Dr. Valentiner in his book on the "Art of the Low Countries" he includes three works as yet unpublished, two of which (Nos. 7 and 8) are portrait studies of Rembrandt's father in the collection of Mr. John D. McIlhenny of Philadelphia. These pictures, which are in splendid condition, are of similar dimensions and very small, measuring but five inches square. Dr. Valentiner places them as early examples, painted either in 1629 or 1630. The head turned to the left, without the ruff, is unusually strong, beautifully modeled, and shows like a piece of fine sculpture. Both are distinguished by the individual touch and characteristic coloring of Rembrandt's early manner and are excellent examples of the period to which they belong. It is very fortunate that these two studies, which belong together and were painted at the same time, should be in the same collection. In the J. G. Johnson Collection there are three little portrait panels (Nos. 473, 476 and 477 of the catalogue) similar to these, which are accepted by most of the recognized authorities as Rembrandt's work.

The third painting, which Dr. Valentiner lists as number one of five works as to the authenticity of which opinions differ, is a considerably larger picture, formerly in the collection of the late William M. Chase, representing *An Artist in His Studio*. Catalogued as *School of Rembrandt*, it appeared in the recent Chase Sale (May, 1917), the description in the catalogue reading:

"An ancient artist, in green and yellow garb, faces the spectator, in an angle of his studio, as he stands back brushes in hand to study a canvas on his easel. On the back is written 'Rembrandt, 1647,' and a paster in French describes the picture as a painter in his studio painted in the School of Rembrandt ('Rimbran')."

Dr. Valentiner, who considers this possibly an early work of about 1626, suggests that it may be a portrait of the artist in his studio.

The picture is on a panel $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide and is near enough perhaps to Rembrandt in its many resemblances to his individual characteristics to warrant one's belief in it as an authentic work. The additional fact that it has been long associated with his name unquestionably strengthens such an opinion,



REMBRANDT: PORTRAIT STUDIES.
Collection of Mr. John D. McIlhenny, Philadelphia.





REMBRANDT: (?) THE ARTIST IN HIS STUDIO.
Formerly owned by the late Wm. M. Chase, New York.



but to others who examine it thoroughly the resemblance to Gerard Dou will probably seem quite as convincing.

The number of paintings ascribed to Rembrandt's youth has been considerably enlarged during the last decade by the addition of various works, mostly portrait studies and religious subjects of small size, until Dr. Bode now has listed a nucleus of upward of forty examples executed probably not later than 1630, when the artist was twenty-four, beside a number which he has published in the magazines. Among the latter are two owned in America which appeared in the first number of *ART IN AMERICA*, and to these should be added nine others, the three reproduced herewith, the Portrait of a Turk in the J. G. Johnson Collection, Mr. Morgan's and Mrs. Gardner's portraits of the artist, the Boston Museum and Mrs. Kimball's portraits of his father and the St. Peter published by Dr. Bredius in this magazine in 1913.

CORRESPONDENCE

MY DEAR SIR: In the October (1917) number of *ART IN AMERICA* I find an article on the Early English Water Colors in the Vassar College Collection, by Mr. Oliver E. Tonks. Amongst the drawings mentioned he names five by Turner—these I presume are all vignettes. As Mr. Tonks only dates one drawing (*The Pass of St. Bernard*, engraved in Rogers's "Italy," published in 1830), and says that "the other water-colors are not so easily placed in Turner's life," whilst seeming to suggest that the *Sandy Knowe* and *Smailholm Tower* may be as late as 1852, I think you may like to have some fuller particulars with regard to these drawings. The *Berne*, *Bacharach on the Rhine* and *The Pass of St. Bernard* were certainly made between 1825-1833, and the *Sandy Knowe* and *Smailholm Tower* is not later in date than 1839, and was probably done a year or two earlier than this. The *Melrose Cross* is the only one I cannot say anything about, as I am unable to identify it; but if it is a vignette it is not likely to be of a later date than 1840.

Berne is probably *A View of the Alps from the Town on a Plateau across the River*, which was engraved by Finden for Murray's "Byron," 12mo edition (1832-34).

Bacharach-on-the-Rhine was likewise engraved by Finden for the same work.

The Pass of St. Bernard. This drawing (as Mr. Tonks notes) was made for Rogers's "Italy" (1830). The drawing was, I believe, some fifteen years ago in the possession of Dr. Magroom of New York, and prior to 1869 the property of Mr. John Dillon, who had a fine collection of water-colors by Turner. The *Hospice of St. Bernard* is one of the exhibited drawings (No. 211) in the National Gallery Collection, and it would be interesting to compare it with the illustration given in *ART IN AMERICA*, but the National Gallery drawing is not there at present and cannot be seen.

Sandy Knowe and Smailholm Tower must be the one engraved by W. Miller as the vignette frontispiece to Lockhart's "Life of Scott," Vol. II (1839). An-

other drawing of Smailholm Tower, also a vignette, was made for Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," and engraved by E. Goodall in 1833; this latter drawing passed through the Novar, Fretham, and Quilter Collections, to that of Mr. C. W. Lea, of Worcester, and was sold only last summer, with other drawings belonging to the late Mr. Lea, at Messrs. Christie, Manson & Wood's.

Melrose Cross. Of this I should like to see a photograph. There is in the National Gallery of Scotland (Vaughan bequest, 1900) a Melrose, a small watercolor, which was engraved by W. Miller in 1833 for Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel." Another Melrose Abbey (size $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches) formerly belonged to Mr. Henry Worthington, and was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1884. This gentleman had a number of fine early Turner drawings, ten of which were bequeathed by his widow to the Whitworth Institute, Manchester, and became part of that collection a few years ago. As I do not find Melrose Abbey included in the ten, this may be the Vassar College Drawing. A large lithograph ($13\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches) of Melrose Abbey from the west, after Turner, appears in "Scotland Delineated" (1846-54); whether it was from the Worthington drawing I cannot say, but inasmuch as the sizes given of drawing and lithograph are almost identical, I think one may conclude that it was. Though the lithograph is dated 1852, there is little doubt that it was made from an early drawing, probably dating from before 1800. Yet another Melrose Abbey (*circa* 1820), a small drawing, belongs to Mr. F. H. Fawkes, and I believe is still at Farnley Hall.

E. G. CUNDALL.

NOTE

In the August, 1917, issue of ART IN AMERICA Mr. Maurice Brockwell begins his article on A Musical Party by Pieter De Hooch (page 241) with "For over fifty years nothing seems to have been known of the whereabouts of the fine Musical Party by Pieter de Hooch," etc. The picture was, however, sold at Messrs. Christie, Manson & Wood's Auction rooms on July 4, 1874, Lot 109, as "Interior of an Apartment."

E. G. C.

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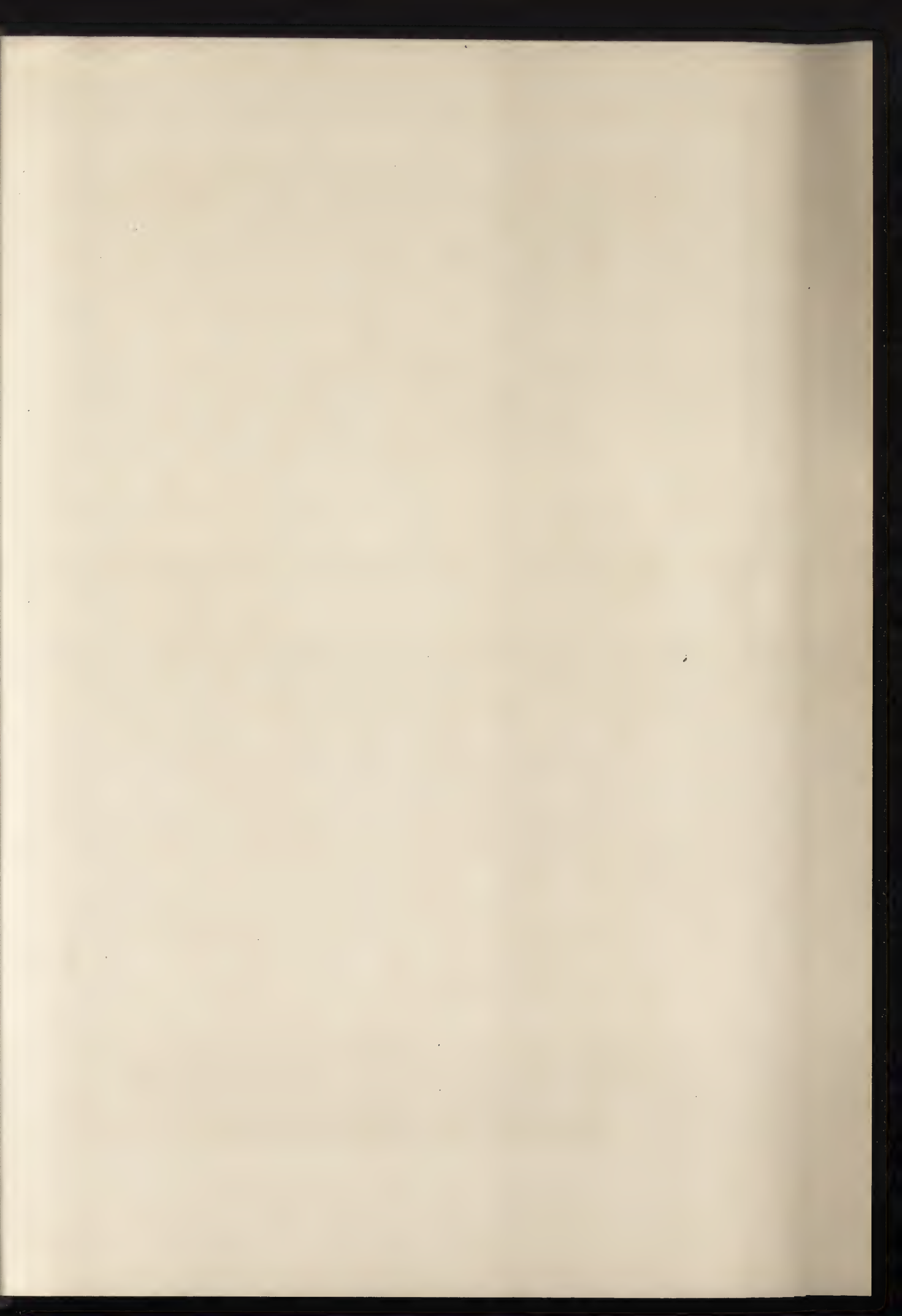
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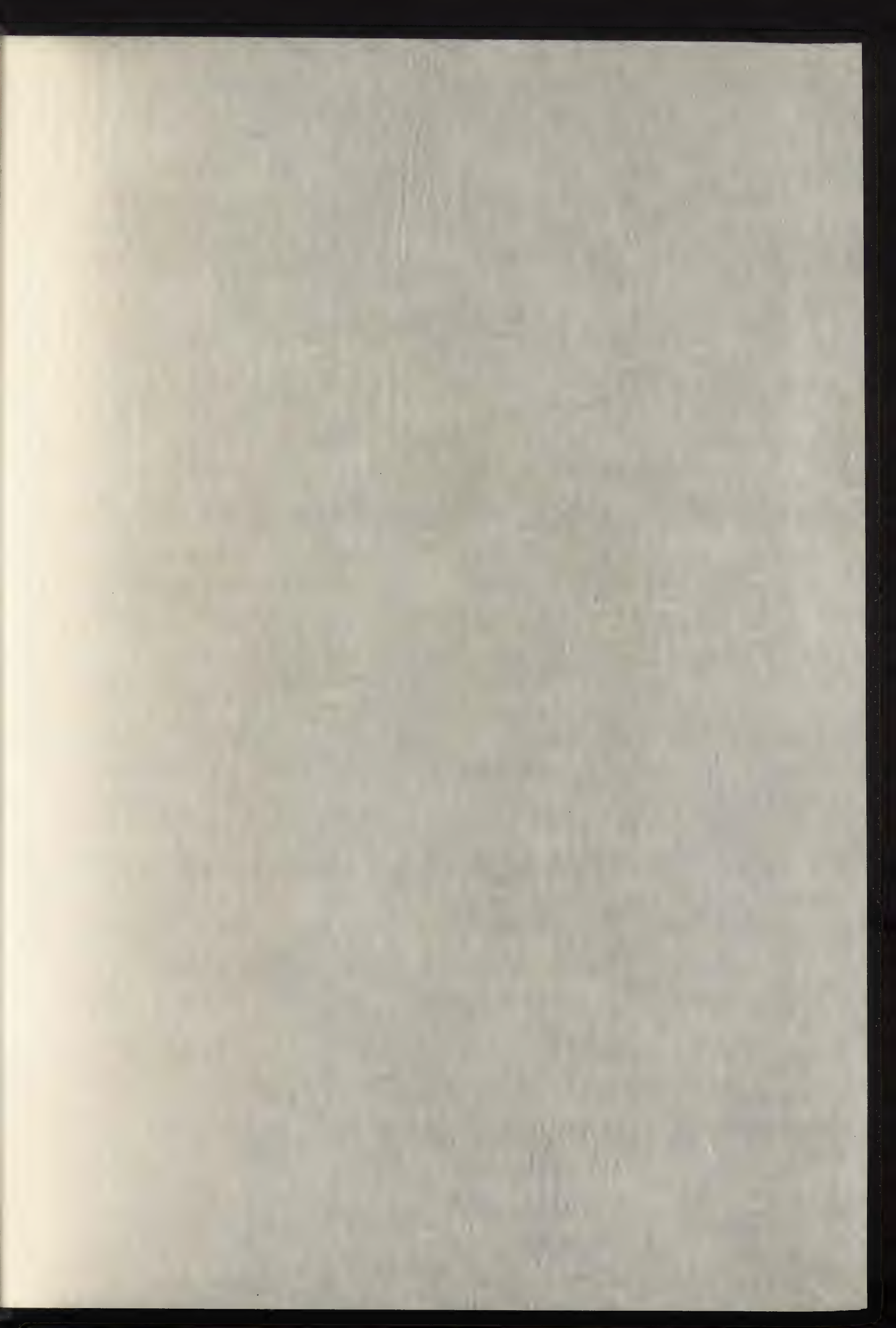
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MANTEGNA: JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES
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ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME VI NUMBER III · APRIL MCMXVIII

A NEW "MANTEGNA" FOR AMERICA · BY BERNARD BERENSON

THE purchase by Mr. Carl W. Hamilton of Mantegna's Judith (until recently in the Pembroke Collection) is an event which can leave no American lover of Italian art indifferent. Even if we did not know the painter of the masterpiece, we should not fail to recognize that it was one of the most complete and exquisite achievements of Greco-Renaissance design. It would be puerile to deny that its being by Mantegna makes a considerable difference. The name of a supreme artist is a key to treasures of admiration ready to be bestowed upon the work to which it can be attached. Our delight in this picture is multiplied by all that its author means to us already.

I can no longer understand how one came to doubt its being an autograph work by Mantegna.

Two and twenty years ago, when I first questioned this fact, I was hypercritical and in puerile dread of being duped by my instinctive enthusiasms. For my heart went out toward the cameo-like restraint, precision, and completeness of the work. But mental gregariousness pushed me into the camp of the Impressionists, and I became an apostle of their ideals and methods. I thought it was incumbent upon me to admire only stenographic processes of drawing, swagger brushwork, and dump hills of paint. Some day I shall recount the consequences of my misplaced propaganda, how I helped to infect the waters of the Danube with an infection which spread first to those of the Thames, and then to those of the Tiber.

To one who was valuing the art of the past from a crudely impressionistic standpoint, this Judith was necessarily anathema, and I spoke of it in a way of which I am thoroughly ashamed. The only shade of a feeble excuse under which I can attempt to find shelter, is that, unconsciously, I was influenced by the disagreeable aspect

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of the surface, when I saw the panel twenty-two years ago. A squalid varnish addled its color and clogged its line. When I saw it again the other day, after it had been cleaned, my heart leapt up at the purity and splendor of the pigments, and the gliding swiftness of the line.

My harshest words, however, were reserved for the interpretation, which I entirely misunderstood. In the three other versions of the theme due to Mantegna's mind, the heroine, as if gloating over her triumph, does not lose sight of the gory head until she herself has seen it put into the bag. In our version, she turns away with a look of lassitude and despair. I am led to wonder whether in this, his latest study of the subject, Mantegna had not come to see his heroine in some such light as Hebbel did. This dramatist, as we shall remember, lets his Judith realize how much more of a man Holofernes is than any of her own people, for whom she is going to sacrifice him, and allows her to fall in love with him before she slays him.

I am happy to find that eleven years ago at least, when I published my "North Italian Painters," I had already shaken off all doubt about its being an autograph work, and that I admitted it as a matter of course into the canon of Mantegna's works.

I admitted it as a late work. Writing as I am, away from my library and notes, I hesitate to be too precise about the dating. I should scarcely place it later than 1500, and perhaps not earlier than 1495.

This Judith is a complete expression of Mantegna's "Roman, pagan, imperial" genius.

CHINESE AND MEROVINGIAN IRON BUCKLES AND
SWORDS IN THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM • BY HAM-
ILTON BELL

INVESTIGATION by Russian savants in the northern parts of Central Asia and of the English and French in the southern, have linked up the culture of the Mediterranean lands with those of the remoter East and have disclosed the existence, in a past whose remoteness has not yet been fully established, of an amount of intercourse between them, of action and reaction of the one on the other, which are gradually discrediting the old belief that all the arts originated in the Classic lands. Evidences of common influences, if not common origins, both of ornamental motives and of the technical processes whereby they are made manifest have been steadily accumulating as we have penetrated deeper into the archaeology of the Farther East.

A link in this chain, of considerable interest, is provided by a small collection of objects brought from China and Eastern France and assembled, the first time that such an assemblage has been made for exhibition, in the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Merovingian or Frankish art, that is to say an art which was practised in the Frankish Kingdom under the Merovingian Dynasty, between the IVth and the VIIIth centuries A.D., is known to us chiefly through metal objects found in graves which are scattered from the Rhine to the Seine and northward to the sea all over the territory which was formerly subject to its rule. Most of these graves that have been explored, and they number many thousands, are in the north and east of France, in Picardy and in the valleys of the Marne and the Aube.

The finds consist of weapons, jewelry and every portion of human attire which, being made of metal, has not shared the fate of the wearers and the more perishable part of their belongings and crumbled into dust. Belt buckles and plaques of the type of those in the Cleveland Museum of Art form a conspicuous part in all these finds.

Objects of a precisely similar kind in form, use, material and technique have fortunately been scientifically excavated in what was anciently a portion of the Frankish empire. Queckenberg, the local postmaster of Niederbreisig, a small village on the western

bank of the Rhine between Coblenz and Bonn, systematically exhumed a large Frankish cemetery there; the collection of ornaments, weapons and jewelry which he found therein was, after his death in 1909, purchased by Mr. Morgan and added to his previous collection of finds, made in Northern and Eastern France, now deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. With the exception of the collection in the Musée St. Germain, it is the most important collection of Merovingian art in existence. Dates—only approximate, it is true—for the classification of this interesting art are furnished by Roman coins found in these graves; they range from pieces of the time of Domitian, A.D. 81, the earliest, to Valens, A.D. 364, the latest, so that about the middle of the IVth century A.D. has been assumed to be the period to which this collection belongs.

The seven pieces (Plate I) which form the subject of this paper were found in Champagne and were acquired by the Cleveland Museum as work of the VIth Century; they are to all intents and purposes identical with specimens in the Morgan collection, such as numbers 120, 143-5, 161-3, 228-9, 232-6, 286 in his illustrated catalogue, and may be of the same date. They are parts of belt fastenings, only two of which seem by the similarity of their ornamentation to be portions of the same set. A set consists of three parts, two spade-shaped pieces and one square or circular plaque, between them. These were riveted on the leather belts, which now have perished, with metal studs, the heads of which remain in many cases. The interesting features of these buckles are the material, the character of the ornament, and the technical processes employed in the application of it.

They are of iron encrusted, not inlaid, with more precious metals; in this case, silver, although gold was frequently used for the purpose, and sometimes tin. Pilon, "Etudes," I, p. 277, says: "The Franks sometimes encrusted, but more often plated, with silver on iron. I do not know one bronze buckle encrusted or damascened with silver to have been found in a Frankish cemetery." Greater exactitude in the use of the various terms for the adornment of one metal by the application of another is desirable; they are unfortunately often rather loosely applied, as in the above case where Pilon differentiates encrusting and plating, and then seems to confuse the former with damascening. By encrusting is meant that the design was not first deeply incised in the metal base and the



Plate I. MEROVINGIAN BELT FASTENINGS.
Cleveland Museum of Art.





Plate II. CHINESE IRON-ENCUSTED CLASPS.
Cleveland Museum of Art.



gold or silver inlaid in it by hammering, which is true damascening, but that the portions to be covered by the more precious metal, or in some cases the whole surface, were roughly scratched so as to produce a burr and the softer gold or silver having been cut out of thin sheets, more or less in the shapes required, hammered or pressed on to the roughened surface, which holds it as plaster is held by the "key" provided by a wall or lath; a very moderate degree of heat might have been used to assist in fixing the precious metal, as it is in India at the present day; a certain amount of chiseling would then clear up the design and complete the work. This would also answer for a description of the process of plating, unless by that term Pilon means the entire covering of the object with a sheet of gold or silver; this, however, is a much less common Frankish proceeding than the application of ornament by the method which I have described as encrusting.

The designs are equally interesting, consisting as they do to a considerable extent of what the French call *entrelacs*, bands interlaced and forming an endless pattern, covering the surface in a meaningless but pleasant manner.

This type of ornament occurs in many arts all over the world, but is so characteristic of certain of them that it is familiarly known in Europe as Scandinavian or Celtic since it is freely employed in the adornment of Viking arms, etc., and Irish illuminated manuscripts. In both these cases, it probably derived from the same stock as our Frankish buckles. More recently, it has been recognized as a marked feature of an art, relics of which have been found from Ireland on the West to China on the East, extending from the Polar circle to the Mediterranean and to the Yangtse. Salomon Reinach finds the earliest evidences of it, the use of spirals in certain characteristic ways, of animals, singly or paired, in attitudes used in no other arts, together with other motives found all over this wide territory, in the Minoan art of Crete, about 2000 B.C. Of the art as a whole, this is not the place to speak, but besides the similarities of design between these buckles and the clasps to which we will now turn, the technical process wherein they are embodied affords another link with further Asia.

The styles of ornament found in Frankish work are so numerous and diverse as to suggest that they were more the carriers than the originators of the art called by their name. Much of it is distinctly

"Scythian" in character, the "bird head motive" being one of the most conspicuous features of this type. These have distinct affinities with early Chinese ornament, perhaps arising from a common origin or influence. There are in the Morgan collection pieces of jewelry of unmistakable Egyptian design, though of Frankish make and technique. It is not necessary to assume that the makers of these jewels were ever in Egypt or even knew the origin of the design they adopted. Like Molière, these people seem to have taken what suited them wherever they found it, in art as in everything else, and as they migrated up and down the great Eurasian continent, doubtless annexed not only the ideas but often the workmen of the races with whom they came in contact, and so, from a very early period in history, objects and ideas must have passed from hand to hand and mind to mind all across the world.

The six iron-encrusted clasps (Plate II) shown with these Merovingian buckles in the Cleveland Museum are from China, and date in all probability from about the same period as the European examples, it may be a century or two earlier or later.

The materials and technique of these clasps are identical with those of the Frankish buckles, and the designs have enough in common to suggest that more than coincidence must be responsible for the similarity.

The silver with which both these Frankish and Chinese objects are encrusted, is proved by analysis to be of an identical composition. A small sample from each showed the presence of the same elements in the same quantities, so far as could be estimated by qualitative methods; the alloy is composed mainly of silver containing small quantities of tin, copper and iron. It seems probable that the two latter are present as impurities. The impression produced on the analyst was that the tin, though the proportion was small, had been deliberately alloyed with the silver. That this particular alloy should have been made for the same purpose, more or less contemporaneously, in places as far apart as China and Western Europe, when taken together with the similarities of design, would seem to indicate a common origin for this art of the two peoples concerned.

The art of inlaying metal in metal is of great antiquity. Perhaps the reason that we have no very early examples of this craft in iron is due to the perishable nature of that metal, but in bronze we have the superb daggers from Mycenae which are probably as old as

2000-1000 B.C. They show such an advanced stage of the art as to make it certain that it had long been practised by the people who made them. One of these daggers has a hunting scene on it of a familiar Egyptian type. From this motherland of so many arts, there are, among other examples, the bronze dagger of Queen Aah-hotep *c.* 1600 B.C., finely inlaid, "damascened" Maspero calls it, with gold, and in the British Museum a bronze statue of Nefer Tmu, of the XIXth Dynasty, 1300-1250 B.C., whose drapery is decorated with gold in the same manner. India probably derived the craft from Egypt, as it is called there Keft work; Keft was the starting point in Egypt of the ancient Indian trade route.

In Greece by the VIIth century B.C., bronze was inlaid with gold, silver and copper.

The diffusion of this process over the nearer Eastern world must have been pretty general by the beginning of the Christian era, and even in China and the Far East, according to many authorities, it was in use at least as early as the Dynasty of the Later Han 26-220 A.D. One of the most consummate extant examples of the art is a bronze cross-bow lock which is one of the treasures of the Boston Museum of Fine Art. It has been ascribed to this period, although the late Okakura Kakuzo considered it the work of the Six Dynasty period, 265-618 A.D. Tigers of a positively startling naturalness, flying birds not more than $\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, vividly lifelike, and other animals and scroll work, cover the various parts of this small object, none of which is more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. They are engraved with the utmost freedom and delicacy of touch in the bronze, and the grooves filled with gold, hammered in. The eye of a tiger, not much bigger than a full stop in this print, is seen through a glass to have a minute pupil with a ring of the gold round it.

There is in the same collection a flanged bronze arrow-head, of diamond section, which has, engraved on all four faces, the figure of a pacing tiger, more archaic in treatment than those on the cross-bow lock but full of spirit. These are very deeply cut, and the gold has all but disappeared from them.

The process of encrusting was known in Crete in Minoan times, and was also practised by the primitive Lake Dwellers of Switzerland. In the Lake of Zug was found an earthen vessel encrusted with tin foil. On another vessel from Lake Constance, the tin foil is cut

through in patterns revealing the dark clay beneath, something like the process of sgraffito in plaster work.

The kindred art of inlaying metal with precious stones would also seem to have originated in Egypt. At any rate, the earliest known examples have been found there, the most notable being, perhaps, the famous jeweled Pectorals and Crowns of Senusert and his Queen, found at Dashur, which date from the XIIth Dynasty, B.C. 2000-1788.

Examples have been found in Mesopotamia of as early as the ninth century B.C. Egypt and Babylon came into contact at least as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty, B.C. 1580-1315. After the Persian conquest of Egypt in the fourth century B.C., the craft spread all over the Nearer East. It may have reached Greece somewhat earlier, since gold jewelry inlaid with lapis-lazuli and rock crystal, beautifully worked, has been found of Mycenaean date, *c.* B.C. 1500-1000.

The Merovingian short sword or dagger (Plate III) of a type known as Scramasax¹ is familiar to archaeologists as the peculiar and characteristic weapon of the Burgundian and Frankish peoples. It was worn by them in conjunction with the long sword, or *spatha*, and both weapons have been found together in their graves; the most famous instance being in the tomb of King Childeric, who died in 481 A.D.

The example in the Cleveland Museum collection is a good specimen of the type, of iron, with a tang cast in one piece with the blade and the usual small guard, ornamented with a gold plate bearing a repoussé inscription, between two bands of filigree work in the same precious metal; the tang appears to have been covered with wood to form a grip; the pommel is missing. The blade is of the shape usual in these weapons with an edge on one side only. It was found at Craonne in Champagne and is dated conjecturally in the sixth century A.D.

The Chinese dagger shown with it is, if Chinese, which may perhaps be doubted, a very remarkable weapon.

The blade of iron, like that of the Scramasax in shape, is edged only on one side; most Chinese swords of early date whether long or short, of bronze or iron, being two-edged. The long tang is cast in one piece with the blade and has been covered with wood like

¹ From a Frankish word *Scrâmasahs*.



Plate III. MEROVINGIAN SHORT SWORD (LOWER) AND CHINESE DAGGER.
Cleveland Museum of Art.

that of the other. In the present condition, it is impossible to be certain whether the silver-encrusted iron pommel was cast with the rest of the weapon or threaded on the tang, as is the case with some Merovingian swords. The common practice in ancient times in China seems to have been to cast hilt, pommel and guard all in one piece with the blade, and is found also to have been the more frequent usage in early Scandinavian and Germanic bronze weapons. The guard of the Chinese "Scramasax" is ornamented like its French companion with a plate of filigreed gold, and the pommel with silver encrustation of a simple network pattern, in the same manner as that on the buckles and clasps.

In the same museum is a long iron sword, of early Chinese make; it has a small guard of bronze, above which the iron tang has been covered with wood forming a grip, on which, close to the guard, the gleam of a fragment of silver seems to betray the presence of some richer decoration; the blade is two-edged and sharp-pointed. It is in every way suggestive of the *spatha* or long sword of the Burgundian and Frankish folk, which was frequently as long as 3 ft. 3 in. The very small and seemingly ineffective guard is a characteristic of both.

Swords of this same type are found in prehistoric burials of the type known as La Tène, from the place in Switzerland where the most important relics of this culture were excavated.

Dr. Laufer, in his learned monograph on Chinese clay figures, informs us that short bronze or copper swords, cast in sand moulds, were used in the Early Han times, B.C. 206-23 A.D., and gradually gave way to cast-iron swords of the same shape. This change was definitely accomplished about 219 A.D., when bronze was discarded for iron weapons. He describes some iron swords in his collections in the Field Museum, Chicago, as two-edged with iron hilts, but with lozenge-shaped guards of bronze; much like the long sword at Cleveland above described. He refers his readers to Radloff, "Materials for Russian Archaeology," Part V, Siberian Antiquities, for a parallel process in Siberia where the same gradual transition is to be observed; the hilt may be of iron, while the blade remains bronze or *vice-versa*, until finally the whole weapon becomes iron.

The question of the date of these ancient Chinese swords is one of considerable difficulty. That the straight sword with a flat button-like or ring pommel and small guard is to be seen in the tomb sculp-

tures of the Han period would seem to provide sufficient reason for calling the weapons themselves Han; but as we have no means of ascertaining positively whether or no they antedated that dynasty, nor how long they continued in use after it had ceased to exist, we can seldom prove that a given specimen is of Han make.

We have but one early Chinese sword of whose date we can feel any approach to certainty, and this cannot be older than the eighth century A.D. There is in Shōsōin at Nara a sword which every available piece of evidence goes to prove was the property of the Emperor Shomu, who died in 756 A.D. It is carefully, one would say unmistakably, described with much detail, in the original catalogue, dated 757 A.D., of the belongings of the Emperor, dedicated by his widow at the Shrine of the Roshanna Buddha at Todaiji, among "The Emperor's Swords" as a "Sword made in China."

The long almost straight blade (it has the very slightest curve) is of steel which is to all appearance as fine as that of any later Japanese blade; it has one cutting edge as well as a point for thrusting, and towards the point is, for a few inches, two-edged. It has a long straight tang for securing into the hilt. The grip is of white shagreen mounted with gold. All the ornament of the hilt and guard, which is still very small, is of characteristic T'ang type.

There is, therefore, very little reason to doubt that it is a sword of T'ang times, and both in make (if one may compare it in its perfect preservation with these decayed tomb relics) and in style a great advance on the primitive weapons we have been considering.

ENGLISH DRAWINGS AND WATER COLORS AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY · BY ALFRED M. BROOKS

THE employment of water colors for making pictures is as old as antiquity. It was a well known and highly valued art in classic days, nor was it less so in mediæval. Our comparatively recent and ever-growing acquaintance with the East proves that the Orient has practised and cherished water color from a very remote past. Egypt, Greece, Rome, France of St. Louis, China, Japan and Persia have all been of one mind in regard to this art. And yet it is not of frescoes at Tel-el-Amarna or Assisi; not even of Holbein's miniature of Henry VIII, or Samuel Cooper's of Cromwell, of the latter of which Horace Walpole said that if, by a glass, it could be magnified to life size, "I don't know but Vandyck would appear less great by comparison"; not of any such things do we think when to-day someone broaches the subject of water color. Rather do we think of pictures, for the most part landscapes, painted upon paper, to be framed, and hung; pictures which have only this in common with those enumerated, the common medium of water color, the same vehicle, to use a technical term.

In the modern sense, it was during the second half of the eighteenth century, and in England, that the first clearly defined school of water color painters developed. Its works were interesting from the very start. There is no more fascinating study than that of its development until it attained its dazzling majority at the hand of Turner, and later, by half a century, on this side of the Atlantic at the hands of John La Farge and Winslow Homer; for just as our literary tradition is a continuation of the English, so is the tradition of our school of water color painters. It is the study of the growth of man's love and appreciation for the beauty of nature, a dominant English trait from the time of Chaucer, and to-day a preëminently American trait, interpreted by constantly changing but steadily developing artistic powers. Its story offers a charming parallel to that of English poetry from Collins to Tennyson, Wordsworth being the highest exponent of one as Turner of the other, and both for precisely the same reason; namely, that of having eyes which discovered and hearts which understood, far in excess of ordinary, what wonders really are in heaven and earth, together with tongues and fingers,

cunning, far in excess of ordinary, for reporting their discoveries and expressing their understanding.

The essential charm of water color rests in the fact of its intimacy; that immediate and personal relation, really sympathy, which it establishes between the artist and his patron, by means of making that which in nature is common to both, better understood and more loved by each. The vulgar notion that oil paintings, as such, are important while water colors are relatively unimportant, pertaining to the humbler side of life whereas "oils" pertain to the grander, is the direct outgrowth of a still much too general failure on the part of the public to value the exquisite strength inherent in water colors when handled by a man of poetic perception and developed technique. One practical result of this point of view has been, and still is, that market demand, and prices, have been kept down, relatively speaking, with the further result that numerous small but intrinsically notable collections have been made throughout the country. These contain the works of masters of the art, every one necessarily a master of drawing, that most beautiful art which is less generally understood, hence less prized, than water color. One such collection is at Indiana University. It comprises pencil and pen drawings, and drawings in water color, to make use of the old phrase, which should not be allowed to die for the good reason that it expressed what no other words do or can, by William Gilpin, T. Boys, Sir A. W. Callcott, D. Cox, P. De Wint, H. Edridge, T. Girtin, T. Gainsborough, J. Holland, William Hunt, J. Linnell, G. Morland, P. S. Munn, S. Prout, William Blake, J. Ruskin, J. M. W. Turner, R. Cooper, J. Varley, D. G. Rossetti and others.

The House on the Moor, by Girtin (Fig. 1), represents this master of promise rather than fruition on one of the best of his many good sides. This is not the place to raise the disputed question, always attractive and never answerable, as to whether or not he would have developed, had he lived,—into so great a genius as Turner, his boyhood playmate. The fact remains that Girtin, dead at twenty-seven, left a very considerable body of work which, *per se*, is full of the charm of truth to the realities of nature imaginatively interpreted. That he far surpassed his predecessors, Cozens being the sole possible exception, and his contemporaries, Turner among them, is not questioned. That the grandeur of nature had a special and



Fig. 1. THOMAS GIRTIN: THE HOUSE ON THE MOOR.



Fig. 2. R. COOPER: VESUVIUS.



Fig. 3. JOHN VARLEY: THE COWHERD.

Collection of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., U. S. A.



Fig. 4. SAMUEL PROUT: BOAT BENEATH CASTLE WALLS.

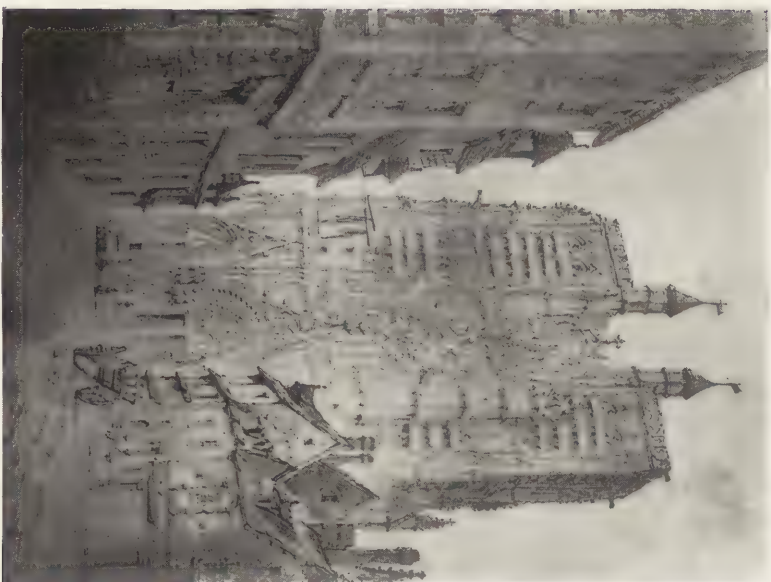


Fig. 6. HENRY EDRIDGE : ST. VULFRAN.



Fig. 5. J. M. W. TURNER : WARWICK CASTLE.
Collection of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., U. S. A.

powerful attraction for him, especially the grandeur of moorland scenery, that wide-horizoned loneliness of sky and plain which broods as a spirit over such places, is a well-known fact. That he developed a massive manner peculiarly suited to the portrayal of such subjects, is likewise well known. That he always felt free to do whatever would make plainer the reasons why a particular subject moved him to depict it, is to define the word freedom as it is always used in connection with Girtin's artistic genius. He broke the bounds of his predecessors of the delicate but not always purposeful touch. In doing this he found "soaring room." What I mean by delicate but not always purposeful touch, which, at best, rarely gets beyond the meaningless pretty stage of art, is clearly illustrated by Cooper's landscape *Vesuvius* (Fig. 2). It is a characteristic example of that eighteenth century school with which Girtin broke.

Turner's pencil drawing of Warwick Castle (Fig. 5) above the meadows, with Beauchamp Chapel towering into the sky beyond, shows this master of the pencil, who is little known as such mainly because he is so universally known as a supreme master of brush and color, at his truthful loveliest. Sheep of the foreground, bridge and trees of the middle distance, above which the many windowed and towered wall of Warwick lifts its splendid mass, which, in turn, is subservient to the town beyond—every touch is a touch whose reason for being is the accurate definition of form with utmost simplicity of method. The whole which results and is greater than any of these accurate and simply attained parts, constitutes a highly truthful and illuminating comment upon a scene long regarded as one of the most delightful in a land famous for its scenery, rural England. Such a drawing makes clear the profound wisdom of a remark upon the subject which Goethe made to Eckermann; a remark which goes to the very heart of the unquestionable but much neglected value of drawings: "I have lately been so fortunate as to buy, at a reasonable rate, many excellent drawings by celebrated masters. Such drawings are invaluable, not only because they give, in its purity, the mental intention of the artist, but because they bring immediately before us the mood of his mind at the moment of creation."

St. Vulfran at Abbeville (Fig. 6), in parts washed with blue and brown, is a fine example of the mad love for the "architectural

picturesque" which possessed England when travel on the Continent was generally resumed subsequent to the peace of 1816. This particular drawing, done with a reed pen, is the work of Henry Edridge, the forerunner of the supreme master of this style of subject, Samuel Prout. Prout's pencil drawings of architecture are justly famous. He was, in addition, a good, though not great master of water color. The bewilderingly luxuriant detail of late Gothic buildings, especially in the Low Countries, this man drew with a soft lead point as no other, although it may well be doubted if even he ever really surpassed Edridge as he is seen in his *St. Vulfran*. But when Prout painted these same rich architectural subjects in water color, his very washes not infrequently became hard and cramped, thereby losing the chief, and truly transcendent merit of his pencil treatment of the same subjects; the noble manner of the artist who manages to suggest endless detail, but never at the cost of destroying the impression of his subject as a unified whole. It was in such subjects as this water color of a *Boat beneath Castle Walls* (Fig. 4) that Prout was at his best; the sort of subject which did not betray him into hardness by over-fixing his mind upon the intricate and exquisite ornament of decaying Gothic, of which he was a past master with the pencil but not with a brush.

In an age of ceaseless travel upon the Continent; of "grand tours" for laymen, high or low, and for every artist, John Varley never left his native shores. In one very important way he was, and yet is famous, namely, for the sense of strong, often intense light, with low-scaled colors, which he bestowed upon his pictures. Luminosity is perhaps the word. A golden glow, not of sunset, and not of autumn, but of the pure palpitating light of common day shed upon foreground and distance, accompanied, as such light always is, by warm, transparent shadows—a golden glow distinguishes Varley's work. It is this distinguished as well as distinguishing glow which gives Varley the important place which he still holds; a glow of light similar to that which has given Cuyp his grip upon posterity through years now reckoned by centuries. Varley's *Cowherd* (Fig. 3) is a warm, mellow and yet brilliant picture in precisely the same way that Cuyp's fascinating canvases of cattle feeding on the fertile meadows beyond Dordrecht are warm, mellow and yet brilliant.

A LANDSCAPE BY VAN GOYEN • BY CHARLES A. W. VOGELER

IN 1916 the City Art Museum of Saint Louis acquired by purchase a winter landscape by Jan van Goyen, entitled *Skating*. It is signed in the lower left corner with his monogram VG, and dated, 1643. It was purchased from Prince Demidoff in 1891.

The subject is the frozen river Meuse at Dordrecht, where an arm of the river surrounds the town and is called the Merwede. Although after the practice of the painter the greater part of the picture is given over to sky and clouds, about fifty figures, like little sepia drawings, can be counted on the ice. Several are seated in sledges drawn by horses. In the center of the foreground a humorous situation is developed in a stout man who has fallen on the ice, lost his hat and alarmed a dog, which is barking at him. The figure occurs more than once in the works of van Goyen (for example, in a painting formerly in the Sedelmeyer Collection, reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XII, 1875, p. 142, entitled *Les Patineurs*). Isaac van Ostade introduces it in his picture of *Winter*, in the Antwerp Museum. To the right of the fallen man are two chair sleds pushed by skaters. Still further to the right, a game of golf is in progress.

The game of golf is frequently represented in Dutch pictures of the seventeenth century in winter scenes. The method of play on the ice was for the players to use a ball and only one club apiece; and, for putting, a stake instead of a hole. A drawing by Ter Borch (1634)¹ shows this clearly. One player is waiting beside his ball and resting his club, while his opponent attempts a short putt at a stake. On the illuminated tailpiece of a sixteenth century Flemish Book of Hours, in the possession of the British Museum, the game is represented on land, the putting into a hole in the turf. The clubs have steel, or steel-covered, heads. In 1618 James I prohibited the importation of Dutch golf balls into his country, objecting that through this trade "na small quantitie of gold and silver is transported zierly out of his Hienes' kingdome of Scoteland."

In van Goyen's painting, decisive delineation of action and of form in the figures gives to each an individual interest that is not,

¹ Reproduced in Emile Michel's "Gerard Terburg," Paris, 1887, page 27.

however, permitted to conflict with the effect of the whole. On the other hand, the artist has avoided the analytical method which he had learned from his master, Isaias van de Velde, and had practised in his early work, but which was given up when his interest in landscape forced him to epitomize for brevity and synthesis. He was one of the first to envelop every object in light and air; and this accounts for his significance to us as a landscape rather than figure painter, though his figures are never without interest.

The town in the distance to the left is Dordrecht, recognizable from numerous representations by van Goyen.

The date of the picture, 1643, is of significance in the history of Dutch art. Frans Hals had executed his two largest Doelen groups—the St. Adriaen's in 1633, and the St. George's in 1639—and completed the Regenten of 1641, the last-named group "without the interference of positive color, in black and white and gray, and low-toned in its flesh color." Rembrandt, in 1642, only a year before the date of the Saint Louis picture, had executed his *Sortie of the Banning Cock Company*. Van Goyen had been made president of his guild, and in 1643 produced some of his more important works, including *The River Scheldt (Hermitage)*, *The Skaters (Dresden)* and *The River (Rotterdam)*.

Our picture is almost monochromatic, and produces an effect of great distance and space. The only positive color occurs in portions of clear blue sky. The figures in the foreground show modifications from prevailing pearl-gray and dun tones in reddish, bluish and other clothing.

The work proves van Goyen fully established as one of the greater landscape painters. Even before 1640 he had adopted the characteristic clarity of lighting that gives distinction to his work. Despite spirited and truthful drawing, he showed consummate understanding and control of values and made each figure, as in the St. Louis example, take its right place in the pervading atmosphere. Here there are hardly any shadows.

The picture is painted on wood and measures 14 by 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. It is significant of the painter and of his school that he did not feel himself obliged to enlarge the boundaries of this panel to show the fulness of his observations, and many of his most attractive compositions are of small size.



JAN VAN GOYEN: SKATING.
The City Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.

THE ART OF BENJAMIN WEST • BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

PERHAPS the unanimity with which the greatest of English painters responded toward the end of the eighteenth century to the scheme of John Boydell for forming a Shakespeare Gallery illustrates most forcibly the prevailing estimate of historic composition as the highest achievement in the realm of painting. Sir Joshua contributed a design for *Macbeth*, Romney one for *The Tempest* and both Benjamin West and Copley were represented. Romney as we now know always cherished the ambition of devoting all of his abilities to works of this description, and writing to his friend Hayley in 1787 about the Shakespearean enterprise, he says: "This cursed portrait-painting! How I am shackled by it!" George Paston, in his late "Life"¹ of the artist, remarks very pertinently that "connoisseurs are inclined to give thanks that his love of depicting pretty faces and his desire to realize a competence interfered with his ambitious schemes."

Benjamin West, who, upon his arrival in England in 1763, became almost at once a personality of consequence in art circles there, included among the canvases he sent to the Spring Gardens Exhibition of the year following a single portrait. He had, it seems, even then practically given up work in that particular field in which he had earned in his native land his first modest success, and it was not long thereafter that, as his first biographer records,² "a series of circumstances placed him in that precise station in society, where at the time there was the only chance of profitable employment as an historical painter." The reference, of course, is to West's favor with the King, for whom he painted almost exclusively during the period from 1768 to 1781 inclusive, producing a great series of religious and historical compositions for which, including several portraits and groups of the Royal family, he received a total of over forty thousand pounds. While it is true that he is responsible for the substitution of realism in the historical painting of the time which was stultified by an absurd but generally approved fashion of representing figures always in the classic costume of antiquity, it is his misfortune to have been possessed by a passion for grandiose subjects and pictures of almost impossible dimensions.

¹ George Romney. By George Paston. Illustrated. Diminutive 4to, London, 1903.

² *The Life, Studies and Works of Benjamin West*. By John Galt. Portrait. 12mo, London, 1820.

As a youth in Philadelphia and New York, West began by painting portraits exclusively, and if the few he did in after years are any criterion of his early abilities he must have started out with a remarkable aptitude for incorporating in his likenesses just those elusive indications of personality that are common to all that is notably true and fine in portraiture. It would not be possible to maintain that he was ever a great portrait-painter in the sense that several of his contemporaries unquestionably were, but it is quite evident that in the realm of male portraiture at least he was the equal of some of them.

One of the gratifying results of the present revival of interest in the early American portrait-painters is the fact that it has brought to our shores a number of excellent examples by West, acquainting us with that phase of his art which he almost entirely neglected at the height of his powers and during the period of his unprecedented popularity. Their suavity as well as their sincerity, their fine color as well as their technical excellence, inevitably persuade one that this was his proper field of artistic expression, and that the circumstances which permitted him to devote the best part of his life to the execution of elaborate tableaux that to-day are but little more than a memory in the minds of men, deprived his time and our own, as well as posterity, of any number of really fine portraits of men, for he was an indefatigable worker and consequently a prolific painter.

The John Sedley (Fig. 1) in the collection of Mr. Walter Jennings and another male portrait (Fig. 2) recently acquired by the Chicago Art Institute are fortunately both late works, the former being dated 1802 and the latter 1792. They belong to the limited series of commissions undertaken toward the end of his lifetime, but before his eye began to fail or his hand to falter, and are excellent interpretations of character and convincing pieces of portraiture. The modelling of the features and the sensitive emphasis of individual expression in the faces is happily evident in the reproductions. No better illustrations of the artist's accomplishment in the way of portraiture are likely to be found. That he was content to adhere to established procedure in the posing of his sitters is of no particular consequence, inasmuch as they are invariably represented in natural and dignified attitudes that never detract from the illusion of life. In the Brook Club in New York hangs his

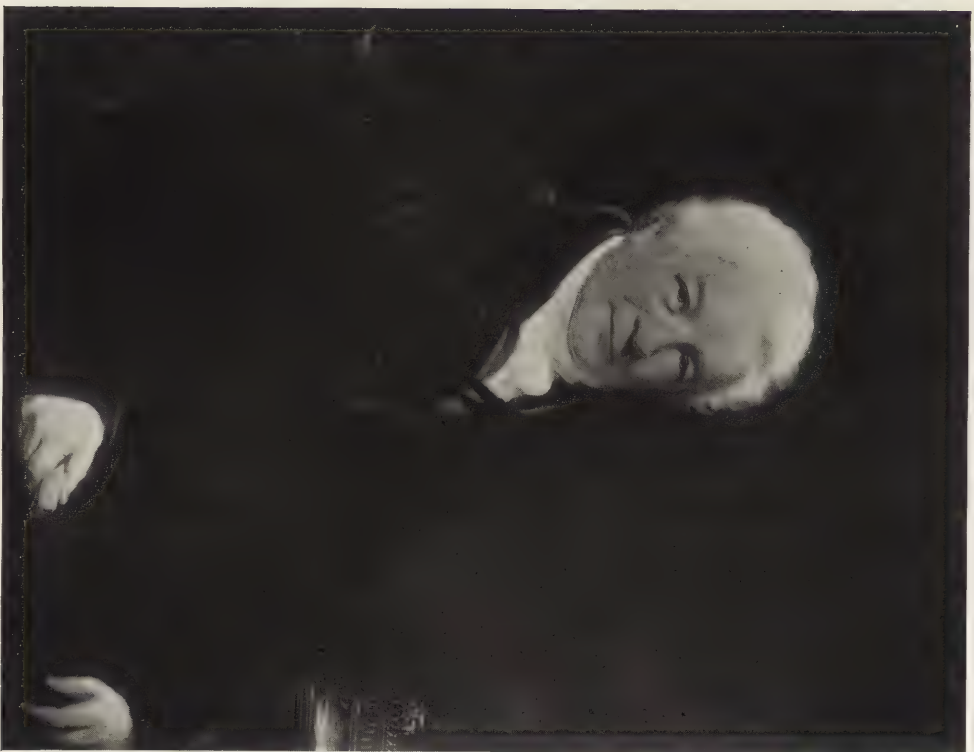


Fig. 1. WEST: JOHN SEDLEY.
Collection of Mr. Walter Jennings, New York.



Fig. 2. WEST: PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN.
The Art Institute, Chicago, Ill.





Fig. 3. WEST: THE ENVOYS RETURNING FROM THE
PROMISED LAND.
The Hackley Art Gallery, Muskegon, Mich.



Fig. 4. WEST: PRESENTATION OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA
AT THE COURT OF KING SOLOMON.
Museum of Art, Worcester, Mass.

portrait group of Ralph Izard and his Friends. It is an attractive composition and a distinguished technical performance as well as being an interesting interpretation of nicely differentiated presentments of personality. West wisely eschewed in his portraiture any approach to that approximation of the dramatic in arrangement that is so considerable a factor in his historical and religious canvases, and specialized altogether upon the portrayal of personality as it is to be observed in the human countenance, translated by a momentary glance or a passing expression into an intelligible definition of character.

Such of West's subject pictures as have recently been added to American collections are naturally those of modest size, a matter that we need not regret, as they are finer examples than many of the more pretentious works. It is hardly necessary to say that the purity of his color and the excellence of his technique are just as apparent in them as in his portraits. The *Envoys Returning from the Promised Land* (Fig. 3) in the Hackley Art Gallery, measuring twenty-three by thirty and three-quarter inches, illustrates his capabilities and his limitations in this field. The forcibly and finely drawn figure of the warrior with the drawn sword at the right of the canvas alone meets the dramatic requirements of the scene. The others hardly emerge from the customary obscurity of the commonplace, and even so only as the artist succeeds in investing one or another with some special charm of color or of pose. The women are noticeably oblivious in their pretty way of what is transpiring and the action and expression of even the more prominent of the remaining actors in the scene are quite unmistakably assumed and perfunctory. The resemblance of the warrior to a type familiar in Italian painting of the Renaissance, of the women to the prevailing type in eighteenth century English art and of the Patriarch to a type common enough in Rembrandt's work, proves that West was very much of an eclectic and unhesitatingly adopted in his practice whatever of merit he found in the art of other men and other days.

In another historical composition, the *Presentation of the Queen of Sheba at the Court of King Solomon* (Fig. 4), now at the Worcester Museum, the suggestion of Rembrandt occurs again in the turbaned figure at the right of the King, as well as more forcibly in the whole general arrangement, grouping and lighting of the canvas. The face of that one of the Queen's attendants facing

the spectator and standing at the center of those behind her, except for a certain softness and sweetness, somehow reminds one of the great Spaniard, Goya. The composition has an undeniable heroic quality and the lighting is notably effective. It would be an almost wholly satisfactory rendering of the subject did not the impressiveness of the moment suffer somewhat of an eclipse through the simpering fatuity of the various females. It is curious, by the way, that West, having introduced the style of painting personages of his own and immediately preceding ages in their proper costume, should have persisted in the use of the costume of his own day in picturing scenes from antiquity. The women in this canvas and in the Hackley Art Gallery picture are dressed in the mode of eighteenth century England and thereby quite effectually prevent their perfectly realizing the effects intended. That they are not impressive in any such sense as they were intended is the conclusion that is forced upon one. As a matter of fact, however, none of the great artists of his time were any more successful in their efforts in this direction, and so far, at least, it is true that the pre-eminence of his position as a painter of such subjects was entirely justified by his performance, which, though it is never entirely convincing, is yet very often punctuated by passages of real and definite distinction. Too much of the passion, the lust, the pathos of life, which never entered into the artist's experience, and which, never understanding, he was unable to picture, is missing for these canvases to sensibly stir us to any great enthusiasm. Lacking sufficiently dominant and compelling facial expressiveness to emphasize or explain their actions, his figures fail to properly sustain the dramatic possibilities of the scenes in which they appear. A great actor must perforce be a master of action and of both vocal and facial expression. In painting, there being no possibility of representation of vocal expression, the artist is forced into the necessity of realizing all of the possibilities of dramatic interpretation by such a delineation of bodily action and facial expression as will create a really significant and unforgettable picture of the humor, the pathos or the tragedy of life. Only the greatest painters have ever succeeded in doing this.

NOTES ON THE ART OF J. FRANCIS MURPHY · BY
ELIOT CLARK

THE so-called Hudson River School, under the influence of the Düsseldorf precedents, dominated American landscape painting until the later eighties. Bierstadt, Church and Kensett were the popular painters of the middle part of the century. Remembering that J. Francis Murphy was born in 1853, it is a noteworthy fact that we do not see any echo of this school in his early work. Hunt, Lafarge, Inness and Wyant were the pioneers of the later movement which, responding to the influence of Constable and the Barbizon painters, prepared the way for fuller development. With Wyant, however, the pictures painted before the later seventies are still somewhat topographical and tight, whereas we recall a picture by Murphy dated 1878 which indicates a complete understanding of the new message and places him at once as one of the leading tonalists of the time. If it repeats somewhat the dramatic chiaroscuro of Inness, it indicates the receptivity of the younger painter. Murphy assimilated the most enduring influences during his formative period, but at an early age added a technical touch and a viewpoint quite peculiar to his personality. Although an intense student of nature, he never allowed the random and disorder of the visual world to go first hand into his pictures. His early drawings show a faithful and clear rendering of facts, which inform his work with a complete knowledge of the subject, but which were deliberately introduced as part of a pictorial scheme. Never a naturalist in the more limited sense of that term, he was nevertheless a keen and sensitive observer, one who collected his material carefully and made excellent use of it.

It is difficult to define the characteristics of American landscape. It is not merely the illustration of local scenery, but must be associated with the mood or impulse arising from the observation of it. The panoramic predecessors of Murphy saw only the scenic element in our landscape, subjects which were possible to weave into classical compositions reminiscent of Claude. But with Murphy we see a new appreciation in the romance of the homely and the natural, not made spectacular by the light of never-dying suns but quiet, sombre and serene, with always a sense of the poetry of melancholy. It is apparent in his earliest canvases that, though working within

a limited scheme of pictorial design, he was a master of the relation and balance of line and mass, the subtle gradations of light and dark and of the color which bound them together. It was not merely the representation of our local landscape that made Murphy essentially American, but his personal interpretation of it. It may be said that, not having become familiar with foreign subjects and foreign masters through travel abroad, his viewpoint was in consequence more local and limited. The very fact, however, that he did not desire to travel, and roam about from one corner of the globe to another in search of pictorial material and artistic inspiration, is a clear sign that he found his motives in his immediate environment and cherished what he found. We see in his landscapes the bare open fields, seared leaves, the winding stone fence, the isolated farm, the sky ever changing, through which the diffused light languidly pulsates. He sighs with Keats:

". . . Thou hast thy music too,—
While barred clouds bloom the soft dying day,
And touch the stubble plains with rosy hue.";

and recognizes that it is not the subject matter but the significance of it that quickens it with life and awakens the creative spirit.

The simple themes which we find in the early landscapes we see repeated in the later ones. But if the motive is repeated, the artistic interpretation of it is ever sensitive, active and intense. If we will follow the development and unfolding of the art of Murphy, we must appreciate that he has the unceasing desire to perfect his theme, and his theme becomes more and more æsthetic and less purely pictorial. Thus we find the details, introduced from accumulated data, that had sometimes overburdened and confused the foreground of earlier works, gradually disappearing and only the essential and the significant remaining. In the "Grove and Field," belonging to Mr. P. W. Rouss and recently exhibited, the foreground objects, entirely apart from their naturalistic significance, play an important part in the pictorial design and introduce the leading rhythm in the composition, taking the eye back to the lonely perspective of the distance and leading it gradually through the clouded sky. This is an example of perfect form, inasmuch as the theme is expressed in absolutely adequate terms. The subject matter, in a sense, becomes secondary, the presentation of it primary.

If it were not for this fundamental and essential balance which



J. FRANCIS MURPHY: LATE SEPTEMBER.
Collection of Mr. Robert Handley, New York.



J. FRANCIS MURPHY: GROVE AND FIELD.
Collection of Mr. Peter W. Rouss, New York. Formerly in the George A. Hearn Collection.

is produced by the arrangement of line and mass, the color and the pigment quality would not be sufficient. These two elements, so typical of the work of Murphy, have, however, added that charm and beauty which for so many characterize it. Murphy was never a colorist in the fullest sense of the term. His color is always related to values, and his values express light. Thus his problem, like Wyant's, is closely associated with chiaroscuro, the gradation of light and dark which subtly relates the contrasts of the composition. His color is happily wedded to the chiaroscuro, built up in harmonious and closely related hues, whether the theme is one of gold or green, but always enhanced by a delicate note of contrast and complement that keeps it active and vibrant. The pigment quality with which we inevitably associate the name of Murphy is a means, not an end. Associated with the sense of touch, delightful in its porcelain-like surface, it adds a sense of rarity and preciousness to his canvases which is undeniably alluring; but it is because it is a functional part in building up the fundamental conception that it is essentially significant. We enjoy this quality when the picture is examined closely, but it is only when standing away from it, when the picture is seen as a whole, when what seemed so delicate and evanescent assumes form and volume, when pigment has become air and earth, near and far, soft and solid, when in the composition the part becomes inseparably and harmoniously related to the whole, and all is seen simultaneously, that we realize the underlying intention of the painter and see how, with the simplest subject, he has produced a complete work of pictorial art.

Murphy has always been a sound and conscientious craftsman. His technique is the outcome of his artistic conception and is never affected or paraded for itself. The early pictures are in excellent condition. I have never seen an example injured by cracks or other surface defects due to improper manipulation of paint. He has never allowed the need of the moment to hurry his execution. His pictures are exhibited when they are finished, and not finished to be exhibited. The first advice which he received was, though very simple, absolutely sound. As I remember it was given by a house painter and to this effect: Use lead for the foundation or first painting and allow it to completely dry throughout before the second painting is applied. Murphy has always followed this advice. The picture which we see finished to-day was started a year or two

ago. Only the general arrangement and tone is indicated at first, then the canvas is put aside to ripen. Later, when a happy moment arrives, the work is continued in thin paintings, sometimes as mere scumble, or often a transparent glaze, the one to lighten and gray the tone, the other to deepen and enrich the color. If the effect is not entirely satisfactory, the wet paint is at once removed. Thus we see no heaviness or signs of struggle in the finished picture, and the value of the underpainting so carefully prepared is always apparent. At a time when we see so much incomplete work, hastily executed, it is gratifying to find a craftsman who follows the older tradition. His artistic conception being worthy of enduring, he has seen to it that it shall worthily endure.

NOTE

The Madonna (Fig. 4) reproduced in Part Two of Mr. Berenson's article upon "Ugolino-Lorenzetti" in the December, 1917, issue should be labelled Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the following picture (Fig. 5), Pietro Lorenzetti.

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JUNE 1918

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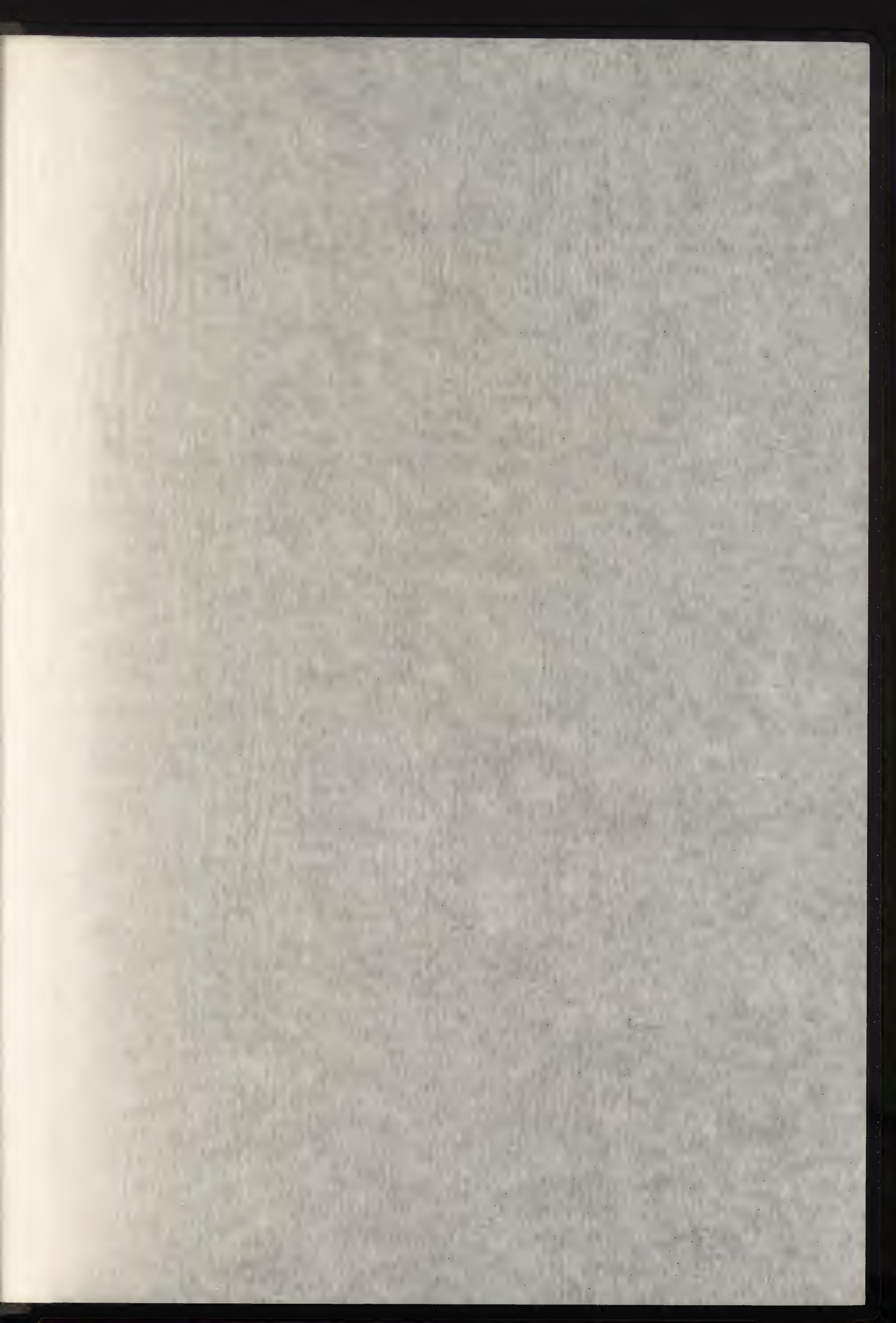
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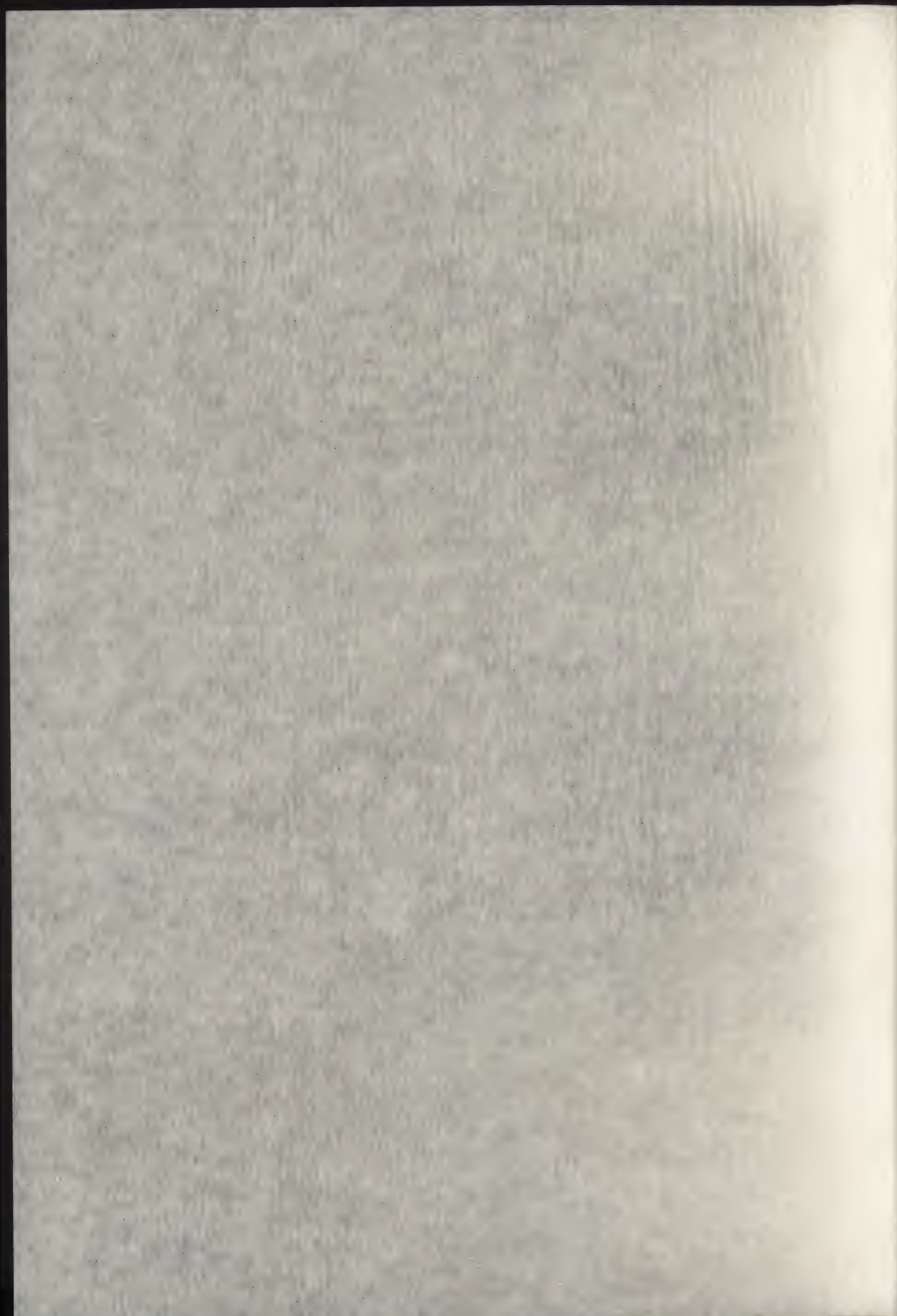
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TWO HELLENISTIC SILVER CUPS.
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TWO SILVER CUPS IN MR. J. P. MORGAN'S COLLECTION · BY GISELA M. A. RICHTER

THE arts and the crafts of ancient Greece were closely akin. The craftsmen drew upon the same general subject matter as the sculptors and painters, and we find in their ranks men of great artistic genius. Hence our knowledge of Greek art is happily not dependent only on the comparatively few remnants of Greek sculpture or on the isolated scraps of Greek painting which have survived. The Greek potters, vase painters, bronze workers, gem cutters, and other craftsmen have left a rich heritage for our refreshment and inspiration.

Among these craftsmen the goldsmiths and silversmiths occupied a conspicuous place. Unfortunately, the materials which they worked were precious in themselves, so that few of their products have escaped the melting pot. Some happy chances, however, have preserved for us a few of their works, and from these we can form an estimate of our loss. The most famous discoveries have been the "treasures" found at Boscoreale,¹ Bernay (near Velliret in Normandy),² Hildesheim,³ and Pompeii,⁴ now in the possession of the Louvre, the Cabinet des Médailles, the Berlin, and the Naples Museums, respectively. The Crimea has yielded some important pieces,⁵ and several early bowls have been found in Cyprus and in Italy; the latter, however, show such strong Oriental influence in the decoration that they can hardly be grouped with purely classical material.⁶ Little else has been unearthed of the same quality and interest; though

¹ Cf. A. Héron de Villefosse, *Le Trésor de Boscoreale*, *Monuments Piot*, V, 1899.

² Cf. E. Babelon, *Le Cabinet des antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pls. XIV, XVII, XXIV, XXXVIII, XLI, LI.

³ Cf. E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Berlin, 1901.

⁴ Cf. Th. Schreiber, *Die alexandrinische Toreutik*, p. 339, Nos. 61 ff., and references there cited.

⁵ S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*, pls. XXXIII ff.; L. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu de la commission impériale archéologique*, 1864, pls. 1 ff.

⁶ Some of these bowls of mixed Oriental style are included in the Cesnola Collection; cf. J. L. Myres, *Cesnola Handbook*, Nos. 4551 ff.

plain silver dishes have turned up occasionally in various places. In these circumstances every new addition to our limited stock acquires great importance—both intrinsically and for the light that may thereby be shed on the many unsolved problems of ancient toreutics.

Mr. J. P. Morgan is the possessor of two silver cups, of unknown provenance, second to none in beauty of workmanship and preservation. Through his generosity they are at present exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Classical Wing, Seventh Room). Their importance makes it desirable that they should be more generally known; and I am indebted to Mr. Morgan for permission to publish them here.

The cups, which clearly form a pair [H., $4\frac{3}{16}$ in. (10.6 cm.); D. of mouth, $3\frac{3}{16}$ in. (9 cm.)], are of a deep bowl shape with slender foot, and are decorated with reliefs in repoussé work, with engraved details. The embossed figures were gilt, but this gilding has partly disappeared. Each cup has an inside silver lining, to which the rim is attached; the moulded foot was cast separately and soldered to the bowl. Originally each cup had two handles, but these have disappeared; the places where they were attached are still visible. The subject of the decorations is taken from bird life. Long-legged cranes are hunting for food in a wheat field.¹ Some have found their prey and are seen eating fish and water snakes amid ears of wheat, sorghum and poppies; others are still looking for their share, or are nibbling at the grain;² and still others have had enough for the time and are quietly enjoying a rest. Here and there grasshoppers or bees are seen crawling and resting along the ears and flowers. We could not have a more charming and lifelike scene. The whole setting, the various attitudes of the birds, the insects, and flowers are all so natural that we feel that the scene must have been copied directly from life. It is Greek naturalism at its height. Nobody would mistake it, however, for Japanese, though we inevitably think of Japanese parallels. For in spite of its obvious naturalism,

¹ I wish here to acknowledge my thanks to Major Bashford Dean of the Metropolitan Museum and to Mr. J. K. Small of the Bronx Botanical Gardens for their help in identifying the various animals and plants represented on the cups.

² The scenes could almost serve as illustrations to the description of the life of cranes given in Brehms Tierleben, 1891, vol. V, p. 674. "Large swamps and morasses form their homes; those which border cultivated land appear to be preferred, because they hunt for food as much in the swamps as in the fields. . . . Though all cranes sometimes eat insects and worms, a small amphibious animal, or a little fish, and even plunder a bird's nest occasionally, they seem to regard animal food only as a delicacy. Grain of different kinds, as well as buds, leaves, roots, or bulbs form their principal nourishment."

there is a feeling of symmetry, of order, of conscious spacing, so characteristic of all Greek work. Thus, on each cup are two sets of two birds, placed facing each other, with a plant between them—the old heraldic grouping translated into nature; or nature translated into symmetrical grouping.

In the Boscoreale treasure, purchased by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and given by him to the Louvre Museum, is a pair of silver cups also decorated with cranes,¹ which bear an unmistakable resemblance to the Morgan cups. The shape, the dimensions, the composition, and the workmanship are in fact so similar that it is likely that the two sets were produced in the same workshop, if not by the same workman. To determine, therefore, the date and school to which the Morgan cups belong, it is important to remember the history of the Boscoreale treasure. The villa at Boscoreale in which the treasure was found was buried in the year 79 A.D., by the same eruption of Mount Vesuvius which proved disastrous to Pompeii. The owner of the villa had evidently been a collector of silverware and other valuables, and when the catastrophe came, he himself or his servant had tried to carry these away to safety, but was overcome in the act. A skeleton of a man was found head downward, holding in his hands bracelets and a gold chain; round about lay over a thousand gold coins (dating from the time of Augustus to Vespasian); and in an adjoining niche was the silver treasure, consisting of almost one hundred vases and utensils, the whole once wrapped in a cloth.

Pliny, Martial, and other Roman writers frequently refer to the passion of Roman collectors for silverware. There were in Rome special halls where such silver was sold (*basilicae argentariae* or *vasculariae*). Collectors, we are told, would stroll about these halls, hunting for valuable pieces. Sometimes special auctions were held, and we can imagine that there was as much excitement at the Roman *atria auctionaria* as there is today at an important sale in this country. Signatures of famous artists greatly added to the value of the pieces, and doubtless such signatures were sometimes forged by dealers to enhance the value of their wares. We may form an estimate of the prices sometimes paid by keen collectors from Pliny's statement (Nat. Hist., XXXIII, 156) that a pair of cups by Zopyros was valued at 1,200,000 sesterces (about \$52,500), and that Crassus paid 1,000,000 sesterces for two cups by Mentor. Especially desirable,

¹ Cf. A. Héron de Villefosse, op. cit., pls. XI, XII.

Martial tells us, was old silver, even if it was so worn that the reliefs could hardly be recognized. Juvenal (I, 76) includes old chased silver (*vetus argentum et stantem extra copula caprum*) among the regular appurtenances of a rich household. Horace and Martial satirize in an amusing way the discussions of collectors on their silverware and quote very much the same kind of talk that we hear nowadays by connoisseurs or would-be connoisseurs. Incidentally we learn that such silver vases usually came in pairs. An important statement is made by Pliny. After giving a list of the most famous Greek chasers of silver down to the latter part of the first century B.C., and describing some of their works, he says: "The whole art then suddenly disappeared so completely that nowadays we only value wrought silver for its age, and reckon its merit established when the chasing is so worn that the very design can no longer be made out" (Nat. Hist., XXIII, 157; Miss K. Jex-Blake's translation).

We must not take Pliny's statement too literally. It was probably with silver as it was with sculpture and other branches of art in imperial Rome. The Romans ruthlessly plundered Greece and the East for their art treasures, and among such spoils wrought silver played an important part (Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXIII, 139 ff.). Where such genuine Greek works were obtainable, they were prized above all else; but the supply being limited, copies were freely made from older models. Today, also, we assiduously collect old furniture, old silver, old china, and "reckon their merit established" when they are properly worn and worm-eaten; but we also often have to be content with reproductions of old designs.

The character of the Boscoreale treasure fully bears out this estimate. It was obviously a mixed collection and derived from many sources. Some of the vases are clearly Roman work, both on account of their style and because they bear the signatures of Roman artists. Others (and among them the cups with cranes so like the Morgan examples) show a delicacy and vitality of workmanship which are essentially Greek. In other words, they have the quality which has enabled us in every branch of art to distinguish original Greek work from Roman reproduction. Another important point is that a number of the Boscoreale vases show decided signs of wear (among them again the crane cups), and therefore must have long antedated the time of their sudden burial.

If we assume, then, on the evidence at our disposal, that part of the Boscoreale treasure is of late Greek rather than Roman origin (dating it in the third to first century B.C.), and class with it other products of the same high quality, such as the cups here under discussion, the question arises: where was the original home of this Hellenistic silverware? This question has been the subject of much discussion and conjecture. The general belief at present is that it may have been Alexandria.¹ There is some slight evidence derived from the Boscoreale treasure which points in that direction. One of the plates is decorated with a symbolic representation of the city of Alexandria, a clear reference to an Eastern source. The famous skeleton cups likewise betray the taste of the great Egyptian center of culture, in the choice of philosophers' and poets' names with which they are inscribed. The two cups showing storks with their young point to Egypt or Asia Minor for their origin; for in Italy or Greece the artist could not have observed them in nesting time; and the pictures are clearly copied from nature. However, in Egypt itself little Hellenistic silverware has actually been found, though isolated discoveries of importance have been made.² Had Egypt, and Alexandria in particular, been the great center of manufacture, we might well expect the much-excavated soil of that country to have yielded more material. On the other hand, knowing as we do the wholesale way with which the East was plundered by the Romans, the great popularity which silverware enjoyed with them, and the portable as well as perishable quality of such material, it is not impossible that the conquerors made so clean a sweep as to leave little in its original home. That this may have been the case is further suggested by the numerous finds of moulds for silverware which have been made in Egypt.³ For the present, therefore, we can consider Alexandria as at least one possible home for Hellenistic silverwork, though future excavations may show that another or several other places in Asia Minor or elsewhere will prove to have a better claim.

Besides the Boscoreale cups there are other monuments with which the crane representations on the Morgan cups must be connected. A silver cup formerly in the Fejervary Collection⁴ shows

¹ Cf., e.g., Th. Schreiber, *Die alexandrinische Toreutik*, and the other references given in the footnotes of that article.

² Cf., e.g., E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Silbergefäße*, 58tes Winckelmannsprogramm, 1898.

³ Cf. Th. Schreiber, *Die alexandrinische Toreutik*, pp. 227 ff.; C. C. Edgar, *Catalogues of the Cairo Museum, Greek Moulds*.

⁴ *Monumenti, Annali e Bullettini dell' Istituto*, 1854, p. 90, pl. 20.

similar designs, but in a more crowded composition of less good execution. It is possible that we have here a Roman reproduction of a late Greek composition such as that shown in our cups. On the Arretine clay vases of the first century B.C., where we see so many motives of Greek toreutics utilized by Roman potters, there are apparently no scenes analogous to our crane representations; but a general comparison between the two from the points of view of form, design, and execution is very instructive, since it shows the strong influence exercised by Greek goldsmiths, not only on later metal-workers but also on followers of other crafts. It is important also to compare our cranes with earlier Greek productions, to which they in their turn doubtless owe a considerable debt. The wonderfully lifelike cranes, herons, storks, and geese on fifth-century gems, some signed by the great gem-cutter Dexamenos, show with what finished mastery such birds were represented during the best period of Greek art.¹ The fourth-century silver vases, with wild geese and other animals, found in the Crimea, prove that the metal-workers of that period were representing scenes taken from animal and bird life with extraordinary skill.² The artists of the Boscoreale and Morgan representations did not, however, reproduce only what had been done before. By placing their birds in their natural setting and showing us the plants and insect life with which they were surrounded, they have given their scenes an idyllic quality new in the history of Greek art. They are as representative of their age as Theokritos is in the field of literature; and the spirit in their scenes is as different from the fifth-century pictures as the poems of Theokritos are from the dramas of Sophokles.

¹ Cf., e.g., Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. XIV, 2, 4.

² Cf., e.g., S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*, pl. XXXV; and L. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu de la commission impériale archéologique*, 1864, pls. I-III.

A PORTABLE IVORY SHRINE • BY ALICE M. FREEMAN

THIS shrine (Figs. 1 and 2) was bought at a curio shop in Parten-Kirchen, Bavaria, in July, 1906, and had been obtained two months before in Wemding, Suabia. Its workmanship is in the French-Flemish style of the fourteenth century; and it is believed that the exterior decoration was an addition to a shrine of earlier date. The shrine is twenty-three centimeters in height, and bears a lady's coat-of-arms surmounted by a ducal crown. The only colors on the statuette are the blue lining of the Virgin's mantle, her red shoe, and the Child's red drapery. The hair of both figures is gilded, as are the Virgin's crown and the designs on her robe. The background of the carvings is dark blue diapered in gold, and the wing figures are draped in rich red, violet and green. There is no trace of renovation of these colors, but when the shrine was purchased it was evident that the gold on the carvings had been very recently re-gilded. This fresh gilding soon tarnished. All the gold on the ivory is underlaid with vermillion. On the outside the shrine is dark blue, strongly tinged with grayish-green.

The coat-of-arms has the device replaced by an invocation to the Virgin: *S(ancta) Maria o(ra) p(ro) n(obis)*. The suppression of the armorial motto in favor of a religious petition was very usual during the Middle Ages; instances are found on tombs and on small objects used as aids to devotion; on the latter the invocation usually served to dedicate the article to the Virgin, but when placed on a shrine it became a supplication to the enclosed statuette. The heraldic scroll and the interior of the golden crown are uncolored, but the ivory is "shaded to the tints of age."

There is no record of the shrine among either genuine or forged ivories. It is believed to have been a bridal gift to the lady whose marriage (Fig. 3), attended by the couple's guardian angels, is depicted on the shutters. These brilliantly colored miniatures show the free execution of all illuminated work previous to the fifteenth century; and the ideal type of the angels' faces, and their stiff, sumptuous vestments show them to be closely allied to ecclesiastical figures of the early Cologne school. The irregular features of the red-haired bridegroom have the sharp individuality that marks a study from life; and it is quite apparent that the bride was older and also much taller than the bridegroom, although the artist, by an

ingenious pose of the youth's right leg, very nearly succeeded in creating an illusion of equal height in the figures.

The first clue to the shrine's origin was furnished by the coat-of-arms. The *Livre d'or de la Noblesse de France*¹ states that the *armes d'or a la fasce de gueules* were borne by the lords and barons of *Condé en Hainaut*, and the early annals of the province of Hainaut prove that there is lineal descent from Jacques d'Avesnes, the founder of this house, to Princess Marguerite of Hainaut, who was married, in 1385, to Prince John of Burgundy. As, according to heraldry at this date, a daughter bore her father's arms only and on a shield separate from those of her husband, the display of the Condé-Hainaut coat-of-arms on the ivory shrine would seem to be indubitable proof that it once belonged to Marguerite of Hainaut, Duchess of Burgundy, the renowned patron of art and letters.

The greatest social event of the late fourteenth century was the double wedding between the houses of Burgundy and Bavaria. The marriage of Princess Marguerite of Burgundy to Count William of Hainaut, heir to the throne of Bavaria, was arranged for State reasons and was readily agreed to by all excepting the Duchess of Bavaria, who made her consent to her son's marriage conditional on the wedding of her nineteen-year-old daughter, Princess Marguerite of Hainaut, to Prince John of Burgundy, the fourteen-year-old heir of Philippe le Hardi. Froissart² asserts that the Duke of Burgundy objected to this second marriage in his family, "as he had planned to marry Jean sans Peur to Catherine of France, sister of his nephew, King Charles the Sixth," but it was finally arranged that both weddings should take place at Cambrai on the twelfth of April. When King Charles "heard of all this he announced his intention of attending the marriages of his cousins," and Froissart declares that "there had not been a feast for these last two hundred years that had such preparations made for it." De Barante tells us that for his children's weddings the Duke of Burgundy "clad fifty knights of his suite in green velvet, two hundred and fifty lesser knights in satin of the same color, and his court livery was green and red." It is interesting to note that the costumes of the shrine portraits show only green and red with cloth of gold, a material restricted at this period to the use of royal and ecclesiastical personages. The cos-

¹ *Livre d'or de la Noblesse de France*, publié sous la direction de M. Le Mis De Magny, Paris.

² Froissart. *Chronicles of England, France and Spain*. Chap. cliii, p. 341.



Fig. 1. FRANCO-FLEMISH PORTABLE IVORY SHRINE. FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
Property of the author, Miss Alice M. Freeman.

Fig. 2. REVERSE OF IVORY SHRINE (Fig. 1).

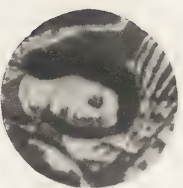




Fig. 5.
Jean sans Peur.



Fig. 6. Bridegroom.



Shrine Angel.



Virgin by
Hubert Van Eyck.

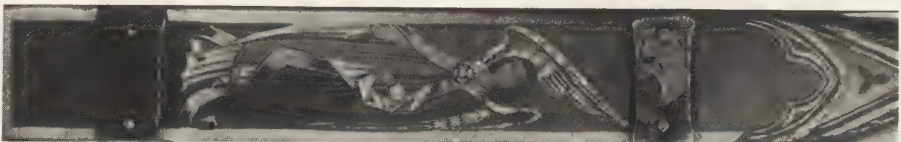


Fig. 4. Side View
of Shrine
(Figs. 1 and 2)



Fig. 3. Portraits on Shrine
(Figs. 1 and 2).



Fig. 7. IVORY SHRINE. FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
The Louvre, Paris.



tumes are French and the bridegroom's tunic corresponds perfectly with Viollet-le-Duc's¹ description of one worn by a courtier about 1390. This, he says, was "a *corset* fitting closely on the chest and back, with regular pleats and reaching only to the knees with the waist elongated by the belt which was worn low and very tight." The shrine bridegroom's tunic is of pleated cloth of gold worn over a doublet of bright green; his bride's mitre head-dress is gilded, and her ermine-bordered scarlet gown displays undersleeves and petticoat of cloth of gold.

A comparison of the miniature of the ivory bridegroom (Fig. 6) with a portrait of Jean sans Peur in middle age (Fig. 5) shows such a remarkable facial likeness that it would seem there could be little question of its authenticity. Lecoy de la Marche² says, with regard to certain miniature portraits of Charles V in presentation volumes: "One has here portraits that are contemporary and authentic, their family likeness permits of no deception. The Valois type was not beautiful and is perfectly recognizable, added to the fact that the physiognomy of Charles V was also true to the traditional type." We have been unable to obtain any portraits of Marguerite of Burgundy and have only her tomb statue by which to verify the ivory bride; nevertheless, in spite of much difference in age, both effigy and miniature show the same tiny, pouting mouth and singularly flat profile.

It seems incredible that a piece, presumably of such great historic value, could have remained concealed for centuries, but it is a significant fact that it first appeared when, after the passing of the Church and State separation law in France, the treasuries of certain northern churches were being secretly emptied of their relics. The mystery seems explicable only on the supposition that during the eclipse of Gothic art the ivory had been stowed away in some old church or monastery treasury and perhaps forgotten.

Portable ivory shrines are now among the rarest of art treasures, only thirty-six entire specimens being known. While many were no doubt destroyed by sixteenth century iconoclasts, their disappearance "is chiefly due to a law of the Catholic Church which requires the destruction of consecrated objects no longer needed in order to prevent their possible desecration."

Until the thirteenth century portable ivory shrines were used

¹ Viollet-le-Duc. *Dictionnaire de Mobilier Français*. Vol. III, p. 267.

² Lecoy de la Marche. *Les Manuscrits et les Miniatures*. Chap. V, p. 189.

during services at the side altars of French churches. After they were superseded by the great permanent altarpieces they continued to be made for journeys and for private oratories. Labarte calls the shrines of the fourteenth century the flower of French ivory carving, and says that they were often mounted on reliquaries of gold. The thin base of the Hainaut altarpiece differs in tint and polish from the rest of the ivory and is evidently a modern addition. The cut iron mountings are somewhat rusted and the bands show remains of a polished surface. Molinier asserts that the mountings of ivory shrines were usually of silver; the appearance of the commoner metal on this piece would, therefore, seem to indicate a strong preference for its use, a choice due, no doubt, to the fact that "iron when applied to mediæval works of art was always symbolical of strength and power."

Restoration of the miniatures is found precisely where constant grasping of the closed altarpiece would naturally have worn away the paint. The bridegroom's tunic and the angels' pink and red copes have been renovated in pale brown; and the features of the bride's angel (Fig. 4) would seem to have been entirely restored, as they are drawn on the bare ivory. It is obvious that when the shrine was held in the left hand—leaving the right free to open it—a finger must usually have rested on the head of this angel. Although the right eye of the bridegroom's angel is certainly a restoration, the face is delicately shaded, and the heads of both portraits are in a perfect state of preservation.

A polyptych in the Louvre (Fig. 7) shows precisely the same architecture and pictorial composition as the Hainaut shrine, but it is more than two inches taller, the physiognomy of the wing figures is of a different type, and its Virgin lacks the classic pose and slightly hieratic expression of the earlier type Virgin of the ducal altarpiece. Koechlin¹ calls this Virgin a little affected, but classes the shrine with two others, in the British and Berlin museums, as the best of the fourteenth century series. He says that the statuettes prove the ivory carvers to have imitated the marble statuary, but "it is probable that not a single marble Virgin can be found that possesses grace and elegance equalling those of our little statuettes." He adds that if the Child in these altars "seems moderately attractive only, the Virgins, on the contrary, are truly exquisite. . . . they have

¹ Koechlin. *Quelques ateliers d'ivoiriers français aux XIII et XIV siècles*. (Gazette des Beaux-Arts, III-XXXIV, 1905.)

the accentuated chin and almond eyes." The wing scenes, he tells us, were borrowed from the miniaturists, and were carved by apprentices while the masters carved the figures of the Virgins, and "a charming statuette will often be found in the midst of wings altogether commonplace."

The type of the carvings on the Hainaut shrine is that of ivories produced before the middle of the fourteenth century, and its selection for decoration was doubtless due as much to the superior beauty of its earlier workmanship as to hurried preparations for the Burgundian wedding.

In view of resemblances between the miniature work on the ivory shrine that commemorates the marriage of Marguerite of Hainaut and certain figures on the Ghent altarpiece, which is believed to have been begun by Hubert Van Eyck many years later for Marguerite's brother, Duke William of Bavaria, one is strongly tempted to assume that Hubert must have been among the many famous artists in the service of the Duke of Burgundy at the time of the double wedding.

In 1385 Hubert Van Eyck would have been about twenty years of age. The analogies between the great altarpiece and the tiny one are found in the devout type of the angels' faces, in the shape and pose of the hands, and in the style of the gold-bordered copes with their large circular clasps and sharply broken folds. The early Cologne figure of the shrine bride, too, is repeated in the martyr Virgins of the Ghent altarpiece. It will be remembered that it was the resemblance of these virgins to the adoring virgins of the Turin Hours that identified Hubert as the author of certain miniatures in the latter. On the altarpiece and in the Hours are virgins who, like the shrine bride, "lift the skirt with the left hand," a mannerism declared by Weale to be "peculiar to John Van Eyck." In the arrangement also of the Burgundian wedding ceremony on green grass one is reminded of Hubert's fancy for placing his sacred scenes on flowery turf. In 1385 Hubert Van Eyck was too young to have had imitators, but the influence on his work of Jean de Bruges has been noted through his taking from Jean's Angers tapestry the design and character of the figures for his Ghent altarpiece. The great Flemish-French master would appear to have influenced the painter of the ivory shrine in his choice of its coloring, which seems to accord with the description of the miniature of Charles V,

painted "in rich colors against a dark blue background" in combination with monochrome "tinted to the shades of old ivory."

It is interesting to find that the features of the better-preserved of the shrine angels are almost identical with those of a little Virgin in the Vienna Museum painted by Hubert Van Eyck "not later than 1410." The Virgin also of a small triptych, found in a church in Dijon and painted by Hubert Van Eyck, shows the same unusual features as the Vienna Virgin and the shrine angel. The appearance of the features of these two little Virgins on the Hainaut shrine—painted a quarter century earlier—encourages the bold conjecture that a very early work of Hubert's has come to light.

Modern art historians "accept as proof of Hubert Van Eyck's authorship of unsigned works the repetition of faces always noble and ideal in type, with the same style of garments painted very freely with overlaid tints and visible brushstrokes." The garments of the shrine miniatures are painted very thickly "with overlaid tints and visible brushstrokes," while the hands and features are left in a sketch-like state. Again, in the ivory portraits "the two arches of the upper eyelids are parallel," a peculiarity claimed by Durand-Greville for "Hubert's type of eyes" as differing from the eyes of Jan Van Eyck's portraits.

Weale asserts that portraits in three-quarter profile did not appear until the second half of the fourteenth century. Portraits, he says, were always in profile until toward the end of the century, when some show the body in three-quarter with the head in profile; and he cites a portrait of Jean sans Peur, in the Antwerp Museum, which depicts both body and head in three-quarter profile but with the tip of the nose cutting the line of the cheek. He states that the Van Eycks were the first to produce portraits correctly drawn in three-quarter profile, and says that they "often added hands to these portraits." To what other pupil of the Cologne school than Hubert, then, would one look, at this early date, for the pre-eminence in portraiture displayed by the painter of the shrine bridegroom?

A GOTHIC HUNTING TAPESTRY IN THE COLLECTION OF MRS. PHOEBE A. HEARST · BY PHYLLIS ACKERMAN

ONE of the most charming and essentially Gothic types of early tapestries is the *mille fleurs aux personnages*. The usual form is a field of delicate wild flowers on a dark blue background interspersed with birds and animals, with a small group of people in the center. Not infrequently the personage is a hunter on horseback attacking his prey.

In this Gothic hunting tapestry from Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst's collection the old motive of the hunter in verdure has received a new and quite unusual interpretation. As in the more familiar pieces, a hunter on horseback in the center of the design spears a fabulous wild creature, in this case a huge bright blue bird. As in the more usual pieces, also, the background is dark blue. The difference is in the character of the verdure.

Instead of myriad delicate blooms, this hunter rides through a forest of huge upspringing trees, with thick heavy foliage and large fantastic blossoms. It is not, like the *mille fleurs*, merely a flat decorative field. It is an actual jungle that grows up thick around him, the flowers entangling his horse's flanks. It is a new tapestry botany, richer, coarser, more elaborate than the typical shrinking flowers. One old familiar tree there is, that has done duty in many Late Gothic verdures, but the other plants are a novelty. They almost seem Renaissance in their large boldness, especially a thistly shrub that rather suggests the acanthus. But the rendering is pure Gothic, flat and unmodeled.

The hunter is very crude and primitive, drawn with small regard for anatomy in the rather heavy brown outlines of the earlier pieces. With the fine Gothic instinct for flat decoration he is turned around, regardless of realism, to the three-quarter view, the bas-relief posture that gives the broadest surface and yet the most vivacious outline.

The birds and animals, also, are pure Gothic, delightfully naïve, especially the frisking goat in the foreground. The water convention in the ponds, alternate shaded blue and white stripes, is very primitive, as is the rather clumsily rendered running vine border. The weave, also, is primitive, coarse, twelve warps to the inch, not always very skilful, and with a wool warp.

What is this variation from type? Clearly it is Gothic; Gothic in spirit, the ingenuous romanticism that really is a child-like wonder at facts; Gothic in drawing, flat outline renderings; and Gothic in color, rich dark tones on a limited scale with very simple hatchings. Yet it is not a Gothic verdure.

It has been suggested that it is a German piece, the crudity the result of their lesser skill in weaving; the carrying on of the early Gothic elements with the somewhat Renaissance field the result of the lateness of their real Renaissance. The water convention, too, is one that appears in some German-Swiss tapestries. If it is German, it is certainly sixteenth century.

But if it is a German piece, it is as much a variation from type as it would be if classified as a Flemish or French piece. And the verdure is really not any truer to Renaissance character than to Gothic. It must be frankly accepted, then, as an exceptional piece, almost certainly of the late fifteenth century, probably Flemish or French.

This judgment is substantiated by the one set similar to it with which I am familiar. In Rothamstead Manor, Hertfordshire, there is a set of the Sibyls, with a very similar verdure. Here, too, coarse-leaved trees spring from bottom to top of the tapestry in an even bolder and more amazing botany that is, however, very close to that of Mrs. Hearst's piece. The birds in the Rothamstead set are almost identical and the animals very similar in spirit. These pieces, moreover, are finally identified as Flemish or French by the unmistakable character of the figures and the French inscriptions. Their borders are more elaborate than in Mrs. Hearst's and the figure drawing more sophisticated. All involve, also, a very beautiful and elaborate Gothic fountain. They may be a later product of the same looms.

Playful yet dignified, intimate yet with the aloofness of real aristocracy, Mrs. Hearst's tapestry is the embodiment of the direct charm and the inexhaustible delight in decoration of the Gothic.



GOthic HUNTING TAPESTRY. FRANCO-FLEMISH.
Collection of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, San Francisco, California.

THE GORDON FAMILY: PAINTED BY HENRY BENBRIDGE • BY CHARLES HENRY HART

IT was of much significance, showing the wide interest that is felt at the present time in American art, its history and development, as also the rapid progress it is making abroad as well as at home, when some months ago on coming to this country Mr. William Roberts, of London, apprised me with much enthusiasm of the rich find he had made of an unknown portrait of Pascal Paoli, painted by an almost unknown American painter, "Henry Bembridge," in whom and in his work he had become so much interested that he had written an article on the picture and its painter for *ART IN AMERICA*, which is the important contribution in the April issue. He was still more astounded when I told him that this was an old story to me, that the painter's name was "Benbridge" not "Bembridge," and that I had rich material concerning his life and work, all of which I offered to Mr. Roberts that he might complete his study; but he preferred that I should do it as a follow-on to his article. To properly understand this painter's place in American art it is necessary to give a little more of his family history and social environment than is customary in these articles.

Henry Benbridge was born in Philadelphia, May 20, 1744. He was an only child, and, his father dying when he was seven years old, his mother soon after married, on October 15, 1751, Thomas Gordon, a widower of wealth and prominence in the community, of Scotch descent. Benbridge early showed a distinct inclination for the fine arts, and when quite a youth painted the panels of his stepfather's drawing-room with designs executed with so much skill as to attract attention and be remembered. About the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, when Benbridge was fourteen, John Wollaston, an English portrait painter, whose picture of "George Whitefield Preaching" is in the National Portrait Gallery, London, visited the Colonies, painting, chiefly in Virginia and in New York, the portraits that for many years have gone by the name of the "Almond eyed" portraits. It was only very recently discovered that he was their limner, and that he painted in Philadelphia, as we learn from the "Verses inscribed to Mr. Wollaston," by Francis Hopkinson, printed in the *American Magazine* for October, 1758. Among his sitters was Thomas Gordon, at the age of forty-six, and it is not

at all unlikely that the stepfather sat for his portrait that his "son-in-law," as stepsons were called at that period, might see practically how a painter did his work, and a portrait that we have by Benbridge of his little half-sister, Rebecca Gordon, aged eight, seems to hark back to Wollaston; yet it is a better picture than Wollaston's canvas of the Custis children and some others of his little folk of the same period.¹

When Benbridge had passed his majority, his indulgent parent sent him to Italy to study art, where we are told he studied with Battoni and with Mengs; but there is not the least influence of the last-named mediocre German painter to be found in Benbridge's work, so that he probably was only in the Art Academy that was under Mengs's direction. But the direct influence of Battoni can be seen in Benbridge's brownness and sameness of coloring, as also in the care he gave to the painting of hands, often in difficult positions, and in the drawing of laces and of draperies, as also the lack of solidity that is so marked in Battoni's paintings. Several copies of old masters that Benbridge made in Italy are preserved, and the influence of the Italian school is shown in all of his subsequent painting.

Mr. Roberts has given the details of Benbridge's painting, at the early age of twenty-four, the large life-size whole-length portrait of Paoli, and toward the close of 1769 he left Italy for London. Previous to his arrival there his stepfather wrote to Doctor Franklin from Philadelphia, February 5, 1769, begging him to recommend his "son-in-law, Henry Benbridge, to such of his acquaintances as may employ him," adding, "He has been several years in Italy studying painting, and is now going to London for business." December 7, 1769, Benbridge wrote to Mr. Gordon from London: "I embrace the first opportunity to let you know of my safe arrival here after a pleasant voyage from Leghorn of twenty-eight days. Upon my arrival I waited upon Mr. West, who received me with a sort of brotherly affection, as also did my cousin, Mrs. West. . . . I believe I shall stay in London and intend to paint Mr. Coombs and Mr. Franklin to put in the exhibition next spring, which pictures I shall make a present of to them and you will see them upon those two gentlemen's return to Philadelphia and by that means be able to form a judgment whether I have improved

¹ The important picture of Rebecca and Elizabeth Gordon by Benbridge is also reproduced as further illustrating the very considerable capacity of the artist as a portrait painter.



HENRY BENERIDGE: THE GORDON FAMILY.
Property of Mrs. John B. Brooke, Reading, Pa.



or not and I hope they will turn out to your satisfaction." The answer to this letter has a canny "P. S. If Mr. Franklin seems disposed to be your friend, pray give my compliment to him and make my best acknowledgments for any favors you receive from him." Before receiving this letter, indeed before it was written, Benbridge wrote to his father, January 23, 1770: "I waited upon Doctor Franklin with your letter of recommendation and he said any service he could be to me, he would do with the greatest pleasure. I am now preparing for the exhibition; Mr. Coombs (who is very much esteemed in this Capitol and known almost by all) I have made choice of for the subject of one of my Pictures and I believe I shall do Mr. Franklin for the other, for these two gentlemen are so exceedingly well known the making of strong likenesses will be a great means of recommending me to business and will do more than the recommendation of any private gentleman whatever; and another thing is that after an Exhibition, my friends have it more in their power to say anything in favor of my Performances, when they have seen what I am able to do in the Portrait way . . . Mr. West intends to decline Portrait Painting and to follow that of History, which will enable him to recommend me much stronger, than if he was in the same way with myself. My own picture he approves of and thinks it very like, as likewise that of Mr. Coombs; you'll see them both, God willing, in America and then you will be able to judge of the advancement I have made in Art. If I stay here I shall get money fast, or if I should come to America I am not afraid but I shall do well there too." He wrote to his mother the same day: "I am not long painting a Picture, having studied an expeditious way and at the same time a correct one." Unfortunately we are left in the dark as to this "method."

To the second annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, Benbridge sent his portraits of Dr. Franklin and of the Rev. Thomas Coombs, who went from Philadelphia to London to take orders and was appointed chaplain to the Marquis of Rockingham. He returned to Philadelphia, where he became Assistant Minister to Christ Church and St. Peter's, but being a Tory was proscribed and returned to England, where he died. Unfortunately, no trace of either of these portraits remains to-day. For some reason of which we are not advised except as Franklin says "affection," Benbridge did not tarry long in London, as on July 19, 1770, Franklin writes

to his wife: "This will be delivered to you by our ingenious countryman Mr. Benbridge, who has so greatly improved himself in Italy as a Portrait painter that the Connoisseurs in that Art here think few or none excel him. I hope he will meet with due encouragement in his own country and that we shall not lose him as we have lost Mr. West. For if Mr. Benbridge did not from affection chuse to return and settle in Pennsylvania, he certainly might live extremely well in England by his profession." The following day Benjamin West wrote to Francis Hopkinson: "By Mr. Benbridge you will receive these few lines. You will find him an Ingenious artist and an agreeable Companion. His merit in the art must procure him great in couragement and much asteem. I deare say it will give you great pleasure to have as an ingenious artist residing amongst you." It was probably the end of September, or early in October, before Benbridge reached home after an absence of nearly five years, and what was doubtless his first work after his return, as also his most important, was the remarkable family piece that is our illustration. This is the most ambitious canvas undertaken by a native artist in Pennsylvania up to the time of its execution. In New England we had earlier similar large compositions by Smibert, Feke, Greenwood and Blackburn, but none that we know in the middle Colonies. The subjects in the picture are the painter's mother in the center with his stepfather to left and Mr. Gordon's daughter Dorothy by a former marriage, who was the wife of Lawrence Saltar, standing to the back, the child on Mrs. Gordon's lap being the first Saltar baby. The handsome boy with a bird on his finger, to extreme right, is George, the youngest child and only son of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, aged about eight years, while the little girl at Mr. Gordon's knee must be the youngest daughter Frances, who became the wife of Doctor Enoch Edwards, whose portrait by West is a masterpiece in portraiture, although she does not appear as old as ten years, which would have been her age at that time, or the senior of her brother George.

A mere glimpse of this canvas, 74 by 66 inches, invokes the involuntary feeling that it is unmistakably Italian in its feeling, treatment and execution, with the infant as pronounced a *bambino* and as uncomfortable looking as any limned by the great Italian masters. The reproduction conveys this same impression as the painting does. As already said, Benbridge was impregnated with



HENRY BENBRIDGE: REBECCA AND ELIZABETH GORDON (MRS. JOHN SALTAR).



the brownish sameness of Battoni's palette and his shadows were too opaque, and although later he became somewhat emancipated from these errors, all of his work belongs to the Italian school.

Shortly after his return he was honored by election, January 18, 1771, to membership in the American Philosophical Society, the bantling of Franklin, and doubtless on the doctor's suggestion. But the climate of his native place did not agree with Benbridge, who was a sufferer from asthma, and he sought a more congenial climate by removing to Charleston, S. C., a little more than a year before the death of Jeremiah Theus, who was the painter *par excellence* in the South from 1739 to 1774 and whose best work is of a very high order of artistic excellence, so that Benbridge was on the ground to take Theus's place, which he filled so well that many of Benbridge's portraits of women painted in Charleston are claimed for the brush of Copley, as are some of Theus's portraits of men. A notable one of this class is the portrait of Elizabeth Bee Holmes that was catalogued and hung at the Brooklyn Museum Portrait show in the winter of 1917 as by Copley, notwithstanding its owner had loaned it and entered it as by Benbridge. Another very important painting by Benbridge of four life-size figures in a landscape, Mrs. Thomas Hartley, her daughter, Mrs. William Somersall, granddaughter Mary, afterward Mrs. John Ward, and a little girl of the Deas family, on canvas 76 by 50 inches, was in the Hudson-Fulton Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1907, likewise given to Copley. A letter of marked importance in connection with this picture has recently been found from Benbridge to his sister, written from Charleston, April 28, 1787, in which he says: "I flatter myself I should have the happiness of seeing you all this summer, but am afraid I shall be disappointed. *I have begun a large picture, four whole lengths the size of life* and with some other work will take up part of the summer to finish." Here he gives the date of the picture, which, without rhyme or reason, pictorially or historically, has been ascribed to Copley in 1760. This painting, too, is purely Italian in its treatment, especially the elaborate folds of the drapery and the figure of little Miss Deas. It is much more brilliant in color than Benbridge's earlier work and a very beautiful painting of the first quality, well worthy of the brush of Copley, even though it has no resemblance to his work. Similar erroneous attributions have crossed the water, where portraits of Lord William

Campbell, the last Royal Governor of South Carolina, and of his wife, who was a sister of Ralph Izard, unmistakably from the hand of Benbridge, are tagged "by Copley."

Benbridge painted quite a number of group portraits, or conversation pieces as they were called, some life size and some quite small, among the latter being a beautiful composition of his sister Elizabeth with her husband, John Saltar, and four children, out in the open, while another is of the distinguished Commodore Truxtun with his family, a daughter of whom married Benbridge's only son, named for his father, through which line the painter has many descendants. Benbridge continued painting in South Carolina until nearly the close of the eighteenth century, when he removed to Norfolk, Va., and there gave to Thomas Sully his first instruction in oil painting. Mr. Benbridge painted in miniature as well as in oil, and his ivories are of a very superior quality, one of himself being finely executed both technically and in color and showing him to have been a large, handsome man. Unfortunately, his work is little known, and as we have seen he is often robbed of the honor that is his due. A number of his portraits are in possession of members of the Gordon family, including our illustration, reproduced by the courtesy of its owner, Mrs. John B. Brooke of Reading, Pa., and in South Carolina they are of course frequently met with, sometimes with the painter known, but oftener unknown. The Allston family has a beautiful portrait of Washington Allston's mother by Benbridge, and in the South Carolina Art Association there hangs a portrait of an old lady, "Mrs. Simons, née Dupre," with this curious entry in the catalogue: "Benrige an English artist. Picture 225 years old before 1912."

Benbridge made frequent visits to his old home city, but his health rapidly declined and he died in February, 1812, at the age of sixty-eight. Dunlap, who seems never happy unless speaking disparagingly of his superiors, social and artistic, visits his spleen on Benbridge by saying "he died in obscurity and poverty," a statement happily untrue. Now that Benbridge has been presented to his fellow countrymen and the art world, it is to be hoped that his art will be sought for and appreciated as it should.

THE EARLY OIL PAINTINGS OF WINSLOW HOMER
BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH in 1866 wrote of Winslow Homer's early studio in the old University building in New York, that "it is remarkable for nothing but its contracted dimensions; it seems altogether too small for a man to have a large idea in." As a matter of fact, most of Homer's ideas then, as later, came to him elsewhere; in soldier camps, at Houghton farm, in the North Woods, Bermuda or Maine. Eventually, however, the cramped life of the city, encompassed by walled streets and harassed by the unnatural noises of endless traffic, drove him to the distant coast of Maine, where he found a congenial home and his greatest inspiration in a supreme interpretation of the grandeur of the sea.

His reputation as a marine painter has been sufficiently established by the able exposition of other critics and needs no further emphasis, but I feel that there is something more of merit to be found in his early oil paintings than others have recognized. Admitting their technical deficiencies, which indeed he really never overcame, the charm of his farmyard and school-house pictures and the realism of his Civil War subjects are sufficiently compelling to permit one the belief that they have been somewhat neglected or certainly overlooked for the more pretentious marines which he produced in later years. It would be surprising indeed if an artist who was capable as a boy of eleven of producing such a masterly little drawing as that of the boys playing Beetle and Wedge should not achieve something of distinction in his early oil paintings of ten or fifteen years later. That none of Homer's canvases of this period are numbered among those which justify the pre-eminence of his position as an American painter is due more, perhaps, to the insistent dramatic quality of his later product than to any degree of artistic superiority in it sufficient to account for the prevailing neglect of the very notable compositions of his youth.

If he eventually concluded that the native farm-hand was an inartistic subject, it was not before he had painted one or two pictures of him that are fine enough in themselves to hold their own in every sense save that of mere size, with some of the more pretentious of his later works. I myself find the figures in his early

paintings not merely more convincing in construction but more satisfying in their individuality. They may not be so heroic in form, but neither are they so wooden in structure as those that follow in his great marines. They have generally more reality in their obvious relation to their surroundings than the figures he uses to illustrate his stories of the sea. Probably the very fact that at first he aimed at nothing more than a truthful rendering of what he found interesting in life, instead of endeavoring to produce instantaneous records of its dramatic moments, is sufficient to account for the sense of reality I find in these earlier and miss in his later productions. Circumstance effectually precluded the possibility of his ever posing his models so as actually to paint from observation such pictures as *The Life Line* and *The Undertow*, and he had no sufficient knowledge of the figure to enable him to visualize, so as to paint from mental projections, the actual appearance of such scenes. Homer himself said that when he had selected a subject he painted it exactly as it appeared, and the sense in which this may have been true is indicated very clearly, I think, by the measure in which he failed in some of his later works to picture the figure with any sort of convincing approximation to that realism in which it generally appears in his earlier canvases.

Certainly the fact that a picture tells a story in no way prevents its being perhaps a great work of art, and in an exact ratio to the importance of the story a picture tells it may or may not be a masterpiece as an artist succeeds or fails in his presentation of whatever the subject may be. The common criticism of Homer is that he is an illustrator, not an artist; it is based upon an incomplete knowledge of his work and practically ignores the best of it—those great marines that tell no stories and that have no meanings other than those that are inseparably associated with our thought of the sea, its power and its immensity. As a matter of fact, he was an illustrator and a very able one, and furthermore he was a great artist; he became a great artist whenever he gave up painting stories of the sea to paint the sea itself, as will be evident enough, I believe, to any one who contemplates such canvases as *the Northeaster*, and *the Early Morning after a Storm at Sea*.

It is worth while to remark that, precisely because Homer painted a subject exactly as it appeared, his pictures of the sea are the greatest of our time, for they are above all else masterpieces of



WINSLOW HOMER: A FRENCH FARM.
Property of Mr. E. C. Babcock, New York.



WINSLOW HOMER: PROUT'S NECK.
Property of Mr. John W. McCanna, Boston.



WINSLOW HOMER: HAYMAKING.
Collection of Frederic Fairchild Sherman, New York.



WINSLOW HOMER: THE SONG OF THE LARK.
The Hilder Art Gallery, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.



realism. His early pictures also are eminently realistic and exact in their interpretation of everyday life, and very often as void of any literary meaning as the finest of his later works. They have always a human interest, however, associated with our knowledge of life, which suffices to arrest and hold the attention, and oftener than not they are really inviting in their coloring. *The Haymaking*, 1864, and *Song of the Lark*, 1876 (an idea which he used again, many years afterward, in the large canvas at Milwaukee), are excellent examples of the finer sort of realism one finds in his farmyard pictures. Here all is simplicity and the figure has all the accustomed value of its actual importance in the scene—no more, no less. *The Musical Amateurs*, formerly in the collection of Mr. John H. Converse and now owned by Mr. De Vine, possesses somewhat of the Whistlerian quality that Kenyon Cox has remarked in another early Homer, *The New England Country School*. Indeed, a sketch for the figure of the 'Cellist which I recently chanced upon reminded one very forcibly of another sketch of a 'Cellist, from the brush of Whistler himself, formerly in the late William M. Chase's collection and now in that of Mr. Frank Vanderlip. *The Musical Amateurs* is dated '67 and is not uninteresting in color. The sincerity of the study of the two musicians is sufficient to convey a definite idea of their personalities to anyone interested enough in such a subject to examine the canvas with the attention it deserves. And such an examination will discover in it also a fine tonality and a charming breadth of handling that was not at all common to the genre painting of the day in this country.

In these pictures of Homer's the pose, whatever it is, is natural, not theatrical in the sense that many of the figures in later canvases are obviously arranged in difficult tableaux to illustrate unusual stories. In doing just that sort of thing he oftener than not sacrificed too much of the realism, the truth, of life, to be very convincing, and to some of us, at least, a few of his greatest canvases can therefore never be anything other than noble failures.

In a picture like *The Bright Side*, 1865, or *The Visit of the Mistress*, 1876, at the National Gallery, Washington, there is no attempt to tell any story. But the happy abandon of the negro teamsters in the former is as infectious as the quiet contentment of the latter is satisfying to the observer. The individualities of the people pictured are preserved in such a way as to convey to one

an exact sense of their feelings, and it is because of this that the pictures appeal to us. They are notable examples of his ability to reproduce the sentiment as well as the appearance of a scene, and in their realism they compare with the best of his work in which the figure appears at all.

Of landscape Winslow Homer painted very little. The two examples that I reproduce, one comparatively early and the other quite late, are therefore of all the more interest, simply as illustrating a very uncommon and little known departure from his customary and familiar habit. The earlier picture is a result of his trip to France, and though appreciably tighter in treatment than the Prout's Neck sketch, it has all of the out-of-door feeling that so sensibly constitutes the persuasive charm of the later canvas. It is also entirely as enjoyable in color, and from it one gets definitely the feeling of locality which is a quality that differentiates honest from inferior landscape painting. The Prout's Neck is a study so marked with the conscious realization of actual appearances and an adequate rendering of their artistic interest as to persuade one that Homer might well have evolved from such an auspicious experiment a landscape as vital as the most impressive of his marines. It is instinct with the evidence of an intimate understanding of significant form, finished with a rare economy of effort in the matter of mere painting, and not only satisfies the most exacting expectations of the realist, but measurably fulfils the higher aim of pictorial art in its suggestive indication of abstract beauty.

CORRESPONDENCE

RICHARD WILSON'S VIEW ON THE THAMES

My dear Mr. Sherman:

I should like to correct a little slip in my account of Richard Wilson's View on the Thames with Westminster Bridge in Mr. J. H. McFadden's collection (p. 117). I state that the cupola in the distance is "probably that of Bedlam Asylum on the Surrey side of the river." On recently investigating the matter I find, however, that the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral was the only one of its kind in London at the time Wilson painted this picture, and that Bedlam was not erected on its present site until many years afterwards. The bend in the river from Blackfriars Bridge to Westminster Bridge is liable to deceive one as to objects seen at a distance from either bridge.

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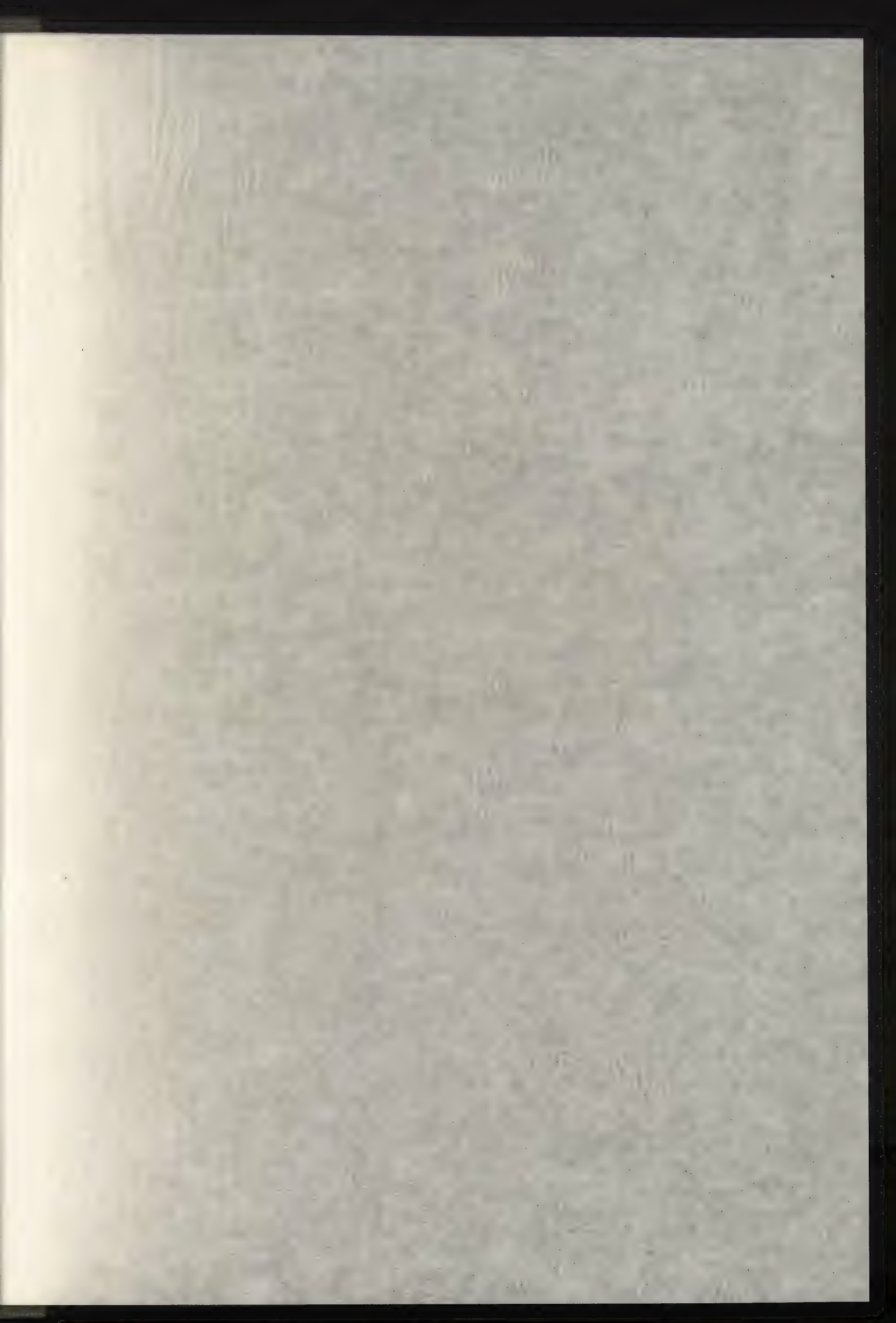
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BERNARDO DADDI: TRIPTYCH.
The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.





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A TRIPTYCH BY BERNARDO DADDI · BY MARGARET E. GILMAN

THE Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University has recently acquired a small Italian Trecento Triptych, formerly belonging to Mrs. Charles B. Perkins of Boston and ascribed to the Sienese-Florentine master, Bernardo Daddi.

The central panel contains a representation of the Crucifixion. Each wing is divided into two compartments or tiers. In the right wing are four figures of saints, St. Catherine and St. Reparata in the upper tier; below them St. James the Great and St. Anthony the Abbot. In the left wing the upper division contains a representation of Christ in the Garden; below are two figures of saints, Peter and Paul. On the base of the altarpiece is a partially effaced inscription which seems to read . . . CXXXIII Mense Martii Espi (?). The panels are painted in tempera on a gold background with a narrow incised border, and are well preserved. The measurements are: Central panel: Height, $17\frac{7}{8}$ inches; width, 10 inches. Right wing: Height, $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Left wing: Height, $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The composition is of the simplest. The central scene is dominated by the tall cross on which is the figure of Christ, His eyes closed in death, His head slightly inclined to His right. On either side an angel holds a bowl in which to receive the blood flowing from His wounds. Kneeling at the foot of the cross and embracing it with her arms is the Magdalen, who looks up in adoration at the figure of her Lord. On the right of Christ, the place of honor, is His mother, her head bowed, her hands clasped in grief; on the Saviour's left is the sorrowing figure of St. John.

A small tablet at the head of the upright of the cross bears the inscription written by Pilate: "Hic Est Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum," and above this tablet is the pelican in a nest with her

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young, symbol of the passion of Christ and of the redemption of the world through Him. As the pelican gave her heart's blood to bring back to life her young, so Christ by His passion and death restored life to humanity when it had suffered spiritual death. At the foot of the cross is the skull signifying Golgotha, the place of the skull.

The simple, predominantly vertical lines of the central panel are emphasized by the formal, symmetrically placed figures of saints in the wings, and by the kneeling figure of Christ in the Garden, which repeats the attitude of the Magdalen at the foot of the cross, and carries the eye upward.

The color is clear and fine, the brightest notes being the vermillion robe of the Magdalen and St. Peter's yellow cloak with its red lining. St. Catherine's gown and mantle are a dull orange red. St. Reparata is clad in rich, dark red violet, which appears in a slightly different shade in St. Paul's tunic and in the lining of St. James's mantle. The robes worn by St. Peter and St. John are a bright blue; St. John's mantle and that of St. Paul are of a lovely rose color. The tunic worn by Christ, in the garden scene, is of a darker rose. Deeper notes appear in the Madonna's blue green gown and cloak, in the mantles worn by St. James and Christ, and in the black habit of St. Anthony the Abbot, while soft, harmonious violets and grays are seen in the wings and robes of the angels, in St. James's robe and in the lining of St. Paul's cloak. Gold is used freely in the delicately wrought borders of robes and mantles, in the ornamentation of the books which the saints are holding, and in the bands of embroidery on the drapery of Christ. The effect of the whole altarpiece is very decorative, with its simple, graceful lines and its clear, harmonious coloring standing out against the gold background, and the evident care for beauty of surface and detail brings it into close connection with the Sienese school.

The types are essentially Sienese—St. Reparata and St. Catherine are close to Simone, and St. Peter is especially characteristic of the school. The deep but restrained religious feeling of the picture also connects it with Siena. Particularly does the figure of Christ kneeling alone in the Garden exemplify the intense yet tender mysticism which was characteristic of Sienese painting at its best.

Dr. Osvald Sirén was the first to attribute this Triptych to Bernardo Daddi,¹ that fine early Giottesque master who has only

¹ Giotto and Some of his Followers, I, p. 270.

recently "come into his own," and who, aside from the quality of his work, is historically important as the first painter to introduce into the scientific school of Florence the Sienese strain, which practically dominated the Florentine school from the death of Giotto until the advent of Masaccio. Daddi too, through his pupil Allegretto Nuzi, the master of Gentile da Fabriano, was largely responsible for the spread of the Sienese tradition into Umbria, and exerted a remote influence upon the Venetian school.

The Triptych is one of the many small portable altarpieces of two or three parts popular in the fourteenth century in Siena and Florence. Daddi and his assistants produced a number of these little shrines, and the custom of painting them was taken up by other artists, among them Nuzi and Taddeo Gaddi, whose small altarpiece in Berlin is modeled on Daddi's Bigallo Triptych. The small diptychs or triptychs represent perhaps a more characteristic phase of Daddi's work than his larger altarpieces or even than the isolated figures of the Madonna and Child, of which a fine example is at Fenway Court, Boston.

A series of these altarpieces, or separate panels from them, now in galleries and private collections of various European cities—Berlin, Florence, Naples, Rome, Stockholm and Siena—as well as in this country, are associated with Daddi's name, the attribution being based on the Madonna and Saints of the Academy at Florence, signed Bernardus de Florentia . . . and dated 1333 or 1334. In general, the altarpiece contained a representation of the Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints, or, occasionally, the Coronation of the Madonna and, on the wings, New Testament scenes, most frequently those of the beginning and the end of Christ's life, namely the Nativity and the Crucifixion. Sometimes, as in the Harvard Triptych, the Crucifixion occupies the central panel. Dr. Sirén calls attention to the fact that the representations of the Crucifixion fall into two classes: one in which several spectators are present, and the other in which only two or three figures, usually the Madonna, St. John and the Magdalen, are grouped around the foot of the cross. An example of the first type is the beautiful little Crucifixion owned by Mr. Dan Fellows Platt of Englewood; the Fogg Museum Triptych is representative of the latter class.

It is interesting to note that practically the same design and the same figures are used several times in these small panels. The

Crucifixion of the Harvard Triptych is allied to representations of this scene in a Triptych at Stockholm, on the right wing of a small altarpiece in the Academy at Siena, dated 1336, on the right wing of the Bigallo Triptych, and to the Crucifixion belonging to Mr. George Blumenthal, New York.

The date of the Harvard Triptych, if correctly read 1334, is significant, as it places the picture in a period when Daddi was in close contact with the art of Siena. Ambrogio Lorenzetti spent the years 1332-1334 in Florence, and this Sienese master exerted a marked influence on Daddi's work. We have already spoken of the strong Sienese strain in the picture, in its fine color, its decorative sense, its types and its religious feeling. Daddi's Florentine upbringing is apparent in his partial understanding of "tactile values," seen in the rather careful modeling of the figure of Christ on the cross, and to a certain extent in the saints, which, although Sienese in type, show a realization of form. The figures seem to illustrate an intermediate stage in Daddi's development, as they are neither so slender and elongated as the figures of the earlier panel of the Madonna and Saints in the Sterbini Collection, Rome, nor so solid and rounded as in Daddi's later works, for instance in the large ancona in Florence.

Dr. Suida¹ distinguishes the work of two other artists among the paintings usually attributed to Daddi, and has built up two distinct personalities in the "Master of the Bigallo Triptych," active about 1320 to 1340, and the "Master of the Crucifixions," active about 1325 to 1343. Among the works which he ascribes to the former painter—in addition to the altarpiece in the Bigallo Collection, Florence—are the small panels of the Madonna and Saints in the Naples Museum and in the Sterbini Collection, Rome, and the little Annunciation in the Louvre, ascribed by some to Agnolo Gaddi, by others to Daddi. Among the paintings which Dr. Suida attributes to the "Master of the Crucifixions" are a number of Crucifixes and the Siena Academy Triptych of 1336. The various small altarpieces which we have mentioned may not all have been executed by Daddi himself, but it seems probable that they emanated from his workshop and that his was the guiding hand.

The Fogg Museum is indeed fortunate in the possession of a typical and charming example of the work of this fine primitive master.

¹ Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, 1906, XXIX, 108-117.

ABOUT A PICTURE IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM: HINTS
AS TO THE ARTISTIC EDUCATION OF RAPHAEL
BY ARDUINO COLASANTI

IN the Boston Museum, in July, 1915, my attention was attracted by the small picture herein discussed (Fig. 1). The photographic reproduction renders any minute description needless, beyond the mere addition that this work of art is painted in distemper on a wooden panel and that the devout scene, of a touching simplicity, is enacted amid peaceful surroundings, wherein the mountain solitudes are enlivened by the presence of a walled city. The delicate symphony of gray and bluish tones is centered and emphasized as by a gleam of fire, in the crimson robe of the Virgin, which St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua, in prayerful ecstasy, are contemplating with rapt attention. In the background the light is soft, suffused and pearly. Is it dawn or twilight?

The first name suggested by the little picture of the Boston Museum is beyond doubt that of Timoteo Viti, from its evident resemblance in composition to the Trinity of this Urbino painter now in the Brera Gallery at Milan. In both works the figures are displayed in three separate groups, two lower ones, one on either hand, and an upper central one, so that, by connecting them by three straight lines, a perfectly triangular scheme would be the result. The gesture of the St. Jerome in the Brera picture is reminiscent of that of the St. Francis of the Boston Museum; the winding folds of the heavy covering of the Almighty in the Trinity having much affinity with those of the robe of the two Saints in the American panel. Further comparison between the two pictures is put out of the question by the unfortunate condition of the Brera example, irremediably injured by faulty restoration, so that the distemper has been almost obliterated under the turbid oil color superadded.

There is a charm, however, in the Boston Museum panel, which sets at naught these external points of resemblance. Where the real difference lies is not easy to specify, since, when viewing a work of art, sentiment is paramount, and the hard-sought phrase, a mere literary effort, is an empty shadow obscuring the splendor of the sky. However, it seems to me that Timoteo Viti, with his wonted charm and exquisite models, and his praiseworthy conventionalism in the arrangement and disposal of bodies in space, has never suc-

ceeded in expressing the same amount of serene charm which characterizes the touching composition of the Boston picture. Despite the simplicity of an almost childlike appearance, and touching inexperience in the execution, we have here the token of a mind which arranges its lines with a notion of order and elegance of the highest class, a freshness as of springtime wherein we seem to discover something which the artist has failed fully to realize, but which is still a dream, in the vicissitudes of hope, and the anxiety of a presentiment which opens a wide field to the imagination of the beholder. However, just where the outer resemblance is more apparent, the hidden and substantial difference becomes more clearly evident, as in the uselessly dramatic and theatrical St. Jerome of the Brera, as compared with the devotional feeling, humbler and deeper, in the St. Francis of the Boston picture.

Of a higher convincing significance are the comparisons that may be made between the small American panel and the early works of Raphael. The most striking fact revealed is the resemblance which the head of the Virgin bears to the female figures of the Knight's Dream of the London National Gallery, and the Three Graces in the Museum of Chantilly. It is the same full oval cast of feature, of a mild, agreeable and pensive expression, suffused with a touching melancholy. Even the manner in which the Virgin and Child are grouped together, their heads apart and turned right and left, not reminiscent of any known work of Timoteo Viti, is purely Raphaelesque, as instanced in the small Panshanger Madonna now in the Widener Collection. Raphael had a special fondness for the gentle droop of the pensive female head, which, appearing in the Bridgewater Madonna, is noticeable in his later Madonna di Foligno in the Vatican. The grouping of the Virgin and Child in the Boston panel, however, marks the first stage of a form which Raphael is more fully to develop subsequently. Timoteo Viti has never produced anything so instinctively genial, and so full of tender fascination. Supported by a flight of cherubim and luminous clouds, it is, as it were, a pure and gentle apparition of youthfulness, or as a prayer uttered at dawn on a hill, while the sky is brightening.

The St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua likewise bear a marked analogy with the two homonymous saints in the Dulwich Gallery, and the four figures in the Prayer in the Garden, now a part of the Burdett-Coutts Collection, and formerly, together with

the Dulwich fragments, beneath the Morgan picture.¹ All these youthful works of Raphael exhibit the same folds in the drapery, the same gray shadows. The figures have hands with broad metacarpuses, short fingers gently entwined, and the nails falling short of the tip of the last phalanx.

In spite of these comparisons, the value of which will I hope not be underrated, I cannot venture to assert that the Boston Museum panel is a Raphael. I merely wish to express a conviction, a highly plausible one however, that this picture, if not the maiden effort of Raphael's brush, is to be ascribed to his early youth, to the period, that is, when, still under twenty, he was working under the guidance of his fellow citizen Timoteo Viti.

The results of recent researches, instead of clearing up the matter, have further complicated the obscure problems concerning the earliest artistic training of Raphael. From the day whereon Magherini Graziani found and published the two important documents proving that the panel of S. Nicola da Tolentino at Città di Castello was executed between December 10, 1500, and September 13, 1501, by Raphael and Evangelista da Piandimeleto,² art critics have been steadily working at the artificial creation of a new artistic personage, whom they have not hesitated to exalt to the high honor of having instructed the youthful Raphael in the rudiments of art.³

Little more, however, than was already known of Evangelista da Piandimeleto was revealed by the Città di Castello documents. The uneventful mediocrity of his lengthy career had been long since sufficiently made known by Pungileoni, Schmarsow, Alippi, Scatassa and Calzini. Originally a servant and later on a pupil of Giovanni Santi, he was probably prized for his faithfulness to Raphael's father, who appointed him a witness to his will, but in whose workshop he must have filled a merely secondary place.

¹ In the Aus'm Weert Collection of Bonn is a copy of the small panel belonging to Lady Burdett-Coutts. I fail to realize how any writer should have been in doubt as to the true original, the London picture being so infinitely superior to the Bonn example. Berenson (*The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, London, 1909, 232) and Gronau (*Raphael: des Meisters Gemälde*, Leipzig, 190) both claim that the Morgan altarpiece is in part due to Raphael, and the rest executed jointly with others from his own cartoons. Venturi and others, instead, have no doubt that the other portion of the picture is Raphael's own work. I have always shared this opinion, which is borne out by the Boston Museum panel. In any case, the fact that some portion has been executed in partnership from the master's cartoons in no wise detracts from the importance of the comparisons and conclusions drawn.

² MAGHERINI GRAZIANA, *Documenti inediti relativi al S. Nicola da Tolentino e allo Sposalizio di Raffaello* (*Bollettino della Società Patria dell' Umbria*, XIX, I).

³ The first to draw such far-fetched conclusions from the documents under notice was GRONAU, in *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, 25 Dec., 1908.

To deny all artistic merit to Evangelista as Gnoli has done,¹ may seem an exaggeration, yet it is none the less certain that in none of the many documents concerning him is it asserted that he alone ever executed a single work of any importance. As a matter of fact, if we except the contract of 1525, which shows him to have been called by Aura and Cornelia De Farneto to finish a picture in place of Timoteo Viti lately deceased, and the two florins paid him in 1527 by the Corpus Christi chapter of Urbino "per depegnare la Nostra Donna,"² he appears during a lifetime of close upon ninety years to have been always engaged in gilder's work, repairing crucifixes and painting paper chalices, church banners and habiliments, shields of nobility, death's heads, altar screens, staves and epitaphs.

Nor do the documents exhumed by Magherini Graziani add in any wise to the fame of Evangelista. In these the first name to occur is ever the youth "Magister Rafael Iohannis Santis," followed by "Vangeliste Andree," then in his fortieth year. It might be dangerous to attach undue weight to the order in which artists figure in these records, since in numerous documents of a later date Evangelista's name occurs indifferently entered before and after that of Timoteo Viti. It is a highly important fact, however, that in the Città di Castello documents the eighteen-year-old painter should be invariably styled *magister*, a title never bestowed on Evangelista, a man of mature age. Far from affording us the slightest historical evidence that Evangelista da Piandimeleto was Raphael's first teacher, these documents therefore show that the faithful *famulus* of Giovanni Santi continued to proffer his good services to the son of his former master, raised to the rank of assistant, but always in a dependent state, just as fourteen years later, in the decoration of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in Urbino Cathedral, he worked on behalf of Timoteo Viti and Girolamo Genga, receiving gold for the gilding and a salary like that of "Bernardino et Octavio."³

No indifferent light on this subject will, according to my opinion, be afforded by the following episode in the life of Gio-

¹ U. GNOLI, *Il primo maestro di Raffaello*, in *Rassegna di arte umbra*, 1911, 52.

² E. SCATASSA, *Evangelista di maestro Andrea da Piandimeleto pittore*, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, 1903, 117.

³ LISA DE SCHLEGEL, *Il primo maestro di Raffaello. Notizie e documenti inediti*, in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1911, 73. The Bernardino and Octavio recorded here are the Bernardino Perantoni Ritis and the Ottaviano Prassede who appear in partnership with Evangelista in other documents published by Scatassa.



Fig. 1. RAPHAEL (?): THE VIRGIN, ST. FRANCIS AND ST. ANTHONY.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 2. RAPHAEL: THE VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN SAINTS FRANCIS AND
JEROME.
Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 3. EVANGELISTA DA PIANDIMELETO: THE VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN SAINTS SEBASTIAN, ROCCO AND NICOLA.
Town Hall, Sassocorvara.



Fig. 4. EVANGELISTA DA PIANDIMELETO: CRUCIFIXION.
Church of Piandimeleto.



vanni Santi. As will be remembered, in the spring of 1493 Giovanni proceeded to the court of Mantua to do some work for the Marquis Francesco, including the portraits of his wife and his brother Lodovico.¹ In the early part of 1494, however, being stricken with a fever, he was forced to return to Urbino, where on the first of August he died. It would seem that on the departure of the painter the Marquis Francesco lost no time in inquiring for the portraits which Santi had begun and taken to Urbino to finish,² because as early as April 24, 1494, his brother Giovanni, in writing, stated that the painter had made his excuse and engaged to finish the portraits on his recovery from the illness contracted at Mantua.

On the death of Santi the Marquis Francesco wrote to his sister-in-law Elisabetta at Urbino with a view to the recovery of the portraits. In her answer, dated October 13, 1494, she informs him that owing to illness Giovanni Santi had been prevented from finishing his portrait and that of Monsignor Lodovico, for which reason she requests her brother-in-law to send a round panel of the size of the others whereon "I will have myself portrayed by a good master whom I expect here, and as soon as ready, it shall at once be forwarded to your Excellency." The letter ends with a postscript wherein Elisabetta Gonzaga states that she has had a diligent but fruitless search made for the pictures by Giovanni Santi's manservant. Thus, the Duchess of Urbino refers to Evangelista da Piandimeleto as a servant in 1494, at the very period, in fact, when through the demise of Giovanni Santi he should have entered on his task of the art training of the youthful Raphael. This episode of the portraits of the two marquises, however, affords room for still further important considerations. It is clear that had Evangelista da Piandimeleto been the skilled painter asserted by Adolfo Venturi,³ and if, as the latter claims, his works and those of Giovanni Santi were so much alike as to have been confused by every writer on art for upwards of four centuries, how did it happen that Gio-

¹ G. CAMPORI, *Notizie per la vita di Giovanni Santi e di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*, Modena, 1870.

² Of the portraits begun at Mantua the only one finished in Urbino was that of Isabella d'Este which she sent, without having even seen it, to her friend Isabella del Balzo, Countess of Acerra (A. LUZIO-G. RENIER, *Mantova e Urbino*, Rome, 1893; A. LUZIO, *I ritratti d'Isabella d'Este*, in *Emporium*, May-June, 1900.)

³ A. VENTURI, *Il primo maestro di Raffaello*, in *L'Arte*, 1911, 139; Id., *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Vol. VII, Part II, 753. See also: LISA DE SCHLEGEL, *Evangelista da Piandimeleto; nuove osservazioni e indagini sul primo maestro di Raffaello*, in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1914, 182; M. CIARTOSO LORENZETTI, *Nuove attribuzioni ad un discepolo di Giovanni Santi*, in *L'Arte*, 1911, 258; W. BOMBE, *Raffaels Peruginer Jahre*, in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1911, 296.

vanni Santi, under the urgent demand of the Marquis of Mantua and the Duke of Urbino, should not have thought of this attendant of his workshop as a fitting person to finish the portraits which he had been prevented by illness from completing? And again, how came it that the Duchess of Urbino, who as early as 1490 had employed Giovanni Santi, and in her letters to distant relatives and friends had extolled the special gifts of this painter,¹ should not after his death have intrusted the task of finishing the two portraits to Evangelista, who should have inherited, together with the workshop, all the master's excellencies of style? How came it to pass that, having at hand so clever an artist, who should have been known to her as a follower of the highly appreciated traditions of Giovanni Santi, in the matter of the portrait intended for her brother-in-law, she should have preferred to await the coming of "a good master" from another place?²

Undoubtedly, as Venturi states, the aim of criticism is to trace a complex number among certain supposed unities, and in reputed homogeneous quantities discover the hidden heterogeneous ones, but, as Venturi himself has elsewhere asserted, "the history of art requires strictly determined points of departure in forming judgments." It is doubtful, however, if such strictness has been used in fixing the points of departure to determine the artistic activity of Evangelista da Piandimeleto and to attribute to him the signal honor of having guided the first steps in art of the purest and most exalted of painters. No certified trace of his brush is known, yet he has been accredited with a number of works formerly assigned to Giovanni Santi, for no better reason than that among the works hitherto attributed to Santi some difference of execution is to be noticed!

An absolutely correct resurrection of a forgotten artistic personage must of necessity take its lead from the document agreeing with the stylistic analysis. Failing this, some degree of credit must be accorded to traditions, varied in proportion to the concomitant circumstances. In the case of Evangelista and in the absence of any purer font of evidence, some faith should be accorded to tradition, which in his native place credits him with a fresco of the Crucifixion. In Florence, Venice and Rome the extraordinary number

¹ E. CALZINI, *Dei ritratti dipinti da Giovanni Santi*, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, 1912, 11-17.

² Very probably the master expected by the Duchess of Urbino was Timoteo Viti, who as a fact, on April 4, 1495, left Francia's workshop at Bologna to return to his native place.

of artists and works of art might have created some confusion and uncertainty in their traditional lore. In a small country place, on the other hand, it is only natural that the traditional records of the only local painter and the works attributed to him should be from his time religiously preserved. Yet another circumstance adds plausibility to the tradition which attributes to Evangelista the Crucifixion of Piandimeleto. In the town hall of Sassocorvaro, removed thereto from the church of S. Francesco, is a panel of the Virgin and Child between Saints Sebastian, Rocco and Nicola (Fig. 3), while in the principal church of the same place is a fresco of Christ on the cross between the same saints. Both these works, repeatedly described,¹ are, according to a remote tradition, attributed to Evangelista and seem by the hand of the same artist who painted the fresco of the Crucifixion of Piandimeleto, herein for the first time reproduced (Fig. 4). We have thus a small group of works, which tradition assigns to Evangelista, and which the characteristics of style show to be absolutely homogeneous. This is far from being a sound reconstruction of the artistic personality of the Piandimeleto painter, but it is something founded on a groundwork of probability, in which the crude feebleness of the stylistic lines, revealed by an inspection of the works themselves, fully coincides with the documentary testimony of the artistic performance of Evangelista.²

However, the rediscovered fragments of the Coronation of S. Nicola da Tolentino, when compared with Lille and Oxford drawings, show how unimportant was the share which Evangelista could have borne in the execution of this work of art, which even in the opinion of its lucky discoverer was conceived, composed and executed by Raphael in all its essential parts.³

Some writers have from time to time denied the existence of the relations between Raphael and Timoteo Viti.⁴ The sound theory of

¹ E. SCATASSA, in *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, 1901, 193; E. CALZINI, *Raffaello ed Evangelista da Piandimeleto*, *ibid.*, 1909, 145; *Id.*, *Ancora a proposito di Raffaello e di Evangelista da Piandimeleto*, *ibid.*, 1910, 48.

² In the absence of any safe reference, SCATASSA (*Arte e Storia*, 1910, 167) was led to attribute to Evangelista da Piandimeleto a round panel of the Virgin and Child and infant St. John the Baptist, once in the Oratory of S. Andrea Apostolo at Urbino, the work of a feeble and tardy follower of Raphael, who, as shown by CALZINI (*Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, 1910, 48) copied in it some figures of the so-called Holy Family of Francis I.

³ O. FISCHER, *Raffaels erstes Altarbild "Die Krönung des hl. Nikolaus von Tolentino"* in *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1912, 105; RICCI-ZAPPA-SPINAZZOLA, *L'Incoronazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, in *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 1912, 329.

⁴ See among others A. POPPE, *Raphael*, London, 1909; U. GNOLI, *op. cit.*; O. FISCHER, *op. cit.*

Morelli,¹ however, endorsed by Berenson, Venturi, von Seidlitz, Ricci, Frizzoni, Gronau, Bode and all the leading writers on Italian art, rests on a solid foundation, and receives new and indisputable confirmation in the small panel of the Boston Museum, a work wherein the characteristic features of Raphael and Timoteo Viti meet as it were, overlies each other, and are blended in a closer promiscuity.

I believe, therefore, that the importance of such relations should be enhanced rather than attenuated, and that while in no wise detracting from the brilliant theory of Morelli, backed by fresh arguments of von Seidlitz,² every care should be taken to collect all the evidence, hitherto ignored or unnoticed, which could throw any light on the extent of such dealings.

Venturi, in his search for traces of the influence of Evangelista da Piandimeleto in the Città di Castello Trinity, calls attention to the fact that the rocks lining the background are reminiscent of those introduced in other works attributed to Evangelista.³ Who can have failed to notice, however, that similar rocks occur also in Timoteo Viti's pictures, as for instance in his Adoration in the Urbino Cathedral, in his Magdalen in the Bologna Gallery,⁴ and in the Virgin and Child between S. Crescenzo and S. Vitale in the Brera Gallery at Milan?

And why, as Venturi again claims with reference to the Coronation of S. Nicola, is the scheme of securing better effects by painting his composition on an open sky under an arch a special tendency of Perugino?

I call attention to the fact that in the Coronation of S. Nicola, and, admitting its attribution to Raphael,⁵ in the Trinity aforesaid, the influence of Perugino is altogether unworthy of notice, unless it merely consists in the chance *imponderabili* and indirect affinities which were being diffused throughout the whole of Central Italy,

¹ I. LERMOLIEFF, *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei. Die Galerie zu Berlin*, Leipzig, 1893, 201-244; 303-335.

² W. VON SEIDLITZ, *Raphael und Timoteo Viti*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIV, I.

³ A. VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. cit., 776.

⁴ No notice having been given of it by any of Timoteo's biographers, it may not be inappropriate to mention another *Magdalen*, original replica or copy, the counterpart of the Bologna picture, and formerly in the Campana Museum (*Cataloghi del Museo Campana. Classe IX. Opere dei capiscuola della pittura italiana e dei loro più celebrati discepoli dal 1500 fin quasi al 1700*, Tav. 58).

⁵ I. LERMOLIEFF, op. cit., 231; G. FRIZZONI, *La quinta edizione del "Cicerone" di Burckhardt*, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, 1888, 291; BERENSON, op. cit., 164, and a few others still believe it by Eusebio da S. Giorgio.

and were, as might be said, in the air itself, constituting the artistic temperature of that dawn of a new century, and which in any case are restricted to the figure of God the Father in the act of blessing, much akin to that in the fresco of the Prophets and Sibyls in the hall of the Cambio at Perugia.¹

A much closer connection exists between the two Città di Castello pictures and the style of Timoteo Viti, very marked especially in the composition of the Trinity, in the peculiar drawing of the faces with somewhat narrow foreheads and almond-shaped eyes, the square hands and wide nostrils and the characteristic lips of the figures of the Coronation. The greater sweetness and softness of outline, the touching and fascinating charm, noted by Fischel, Venturi and Galassi² in the picture of S. Nicola, are not an outcome of Perugino, but are indications of Raphael's own personality, already asserting itself in its full powerful geniality. Nor, at any rate, can the idea of enhancing the effect of a composition against a clear sky under an arch be considered an exclusively Peruginesque method, since in most parts of Italy many instances may be found of an earlier date than the Città della Pieve artist, who merely adopted it with repeated frequency. This idea through Timoteo Viti probably reached Raphael from Lorenzo Costa, Francia and numerous other sources easily discernible in the works of his youth.

It is worth while paying due attention to these details, of which Morelli could not avail himself in his demonstration.

All the same, I think that in support of his theory this writer might have found further evidence in the panel of the Berlin Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (Fig. 2), representing the Virgin and Child between Saints Francis and Jerome, which Raphael's biographers have pronounced to be executed under the sole influence of Perugino.³ It seems to me, however, that the models of the Bologna artist are equally apparent in this picture, whose arrangement recalls

¹ I reckon it inadvisable to enter into the question of Raphael's share in the execution of the Cambio frescoes, which is far from a settled one. In fact, both VENTURI, who extended this share from the figure of Fortitude on the left wall to the entire fresco on the right-hand wall (*Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII, II, 827), and GNOLI, who limited it to the single representation of Fortitude (*Raffaello, il Cambio di Perugia e i Profeti di Nantes*, in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1913, 75), have admitted the strong Timothean character of the portions assigned to the youthful Raphael.

² G. GALASSI, *La scoperta dei frammenti di un' opera primitiva di Raffaello*, in *L'Arte*, 1912, 440; A. VENTURI, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII, II, 770; *Id.*, *Disegni di Raffaello (avanti la venuta in Roma)* in *L'Arte*, 1916, 315.

³ H. POSSE, too, in the last Berlin Museum Catalogue, assigns the picture to c. 1503, adding that it was executed while "Raffael unter dem Einflusse Peruginos stand." (*Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich Museums. Die romanischen Länder*, Berlin, 1913, 147.)

the highly characteristic Holy Conversations, with half figures, of Francesco Francia, while the subdued coloring, the modeling and feeling of the personages reveal the extent of Raphael's indebtedness to the Città della Pieve painter.¹

To conclude, in the Berlin panel are for the first time joined and blended with Peruginesque influences the Bolognese characteristics which Raphael culled from the teachings of Timoteo Viti. Such teachings, on the other hand, are predominant in the works immediately preceding, foremost among which, and therefore anterior to the Knight's Dream, the Archangel Michael, the St. George, the Three Graces, and even the Coronation of S. Nicola, I would class the simple and exquisite little panel of the Boston Museum.

¹ It is notorious that critics do not agree in the attribution of the drawing in the Albertina Gallery at Vienna, reproducing with slight changes the Berlin picture. This drawing is ascribed to Perugino in the old catalogues of the Albertina, to Raphael by CROWE and CAVALCASELLE (*Raphael: His Life and Works*, I, 109).

ITALIAN SCULPTURES IN THE SHAW COLLECTION
AT THE BOSTON MUSEUM • PART ONE: SCHOOL OF
DONATELLO • BY ALLAN MARQUAND

AS the collection of Italian sculptures made by the late Mr. Quincy A. Shaw and deeded to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has recently been placed on exhibition, an unusual opportunity is afforded to American scholars to study a series of monuments which reflect various phases of Italian Renaissance sculpture and offer interesting problems of art criticism.

Let us begin our examination with a series of sculptures attributed to Donatello and his followers.

The Madonna of the Clouds (Fig. 2), a small relief, is one of the most notable in the collection. The Madonna is seated in the clouds. Her face is in profile to the right, her body in three-quarters view. She holds in her lap the Child posed reversely to herself. About her are eight cherubs, four in front and four behind, rushing, swimming, pausing in adoration in the clouds. There is a fascination in the composition, although in execution the relief is a mere sketch. The Madonna's face is finely modeled, whereas the faces of the cherubs are lacking in expression.

Madonnas of this general type are not uncommon, especially when Our Lady is transferred from the clouds to flowery fields. In fact, the Shaw Collection itself contains a later variant from the atelier of Luca della Robbia. But such comparisons are not sufficiently close to be instructive. Close analogues are few, but fortunately we can turn to a relief of the Assumption of the Virgin on the Brancacci tomb at Naples for a standard of comparison. According to the tablet on the tomb, Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci, founder of the church (S. Angelo a Nilo), died on the 27th of March, 1427; and from the Denunzia dei Beni of Michelozzo Michelozzi and his brothers, made in the same year, it appears that Michelozzo and Donatello were then employed jointly upon three sepulchral monuments: that of Baldassare Coscia (Pope John XXIII) for the Baptistery of Florence; that of Cardinal Brancacci for Naples; and the tomb of Bartolommeo Aragazzi for Montepulciano. In all these monuments the major part of the work, sculptural as well as architectural, appears to have been assumed by Michelozzo. But there can be no question that the Assumption

relief at Naples is by the hand of Donatello. In this composition we find the Virgin less interesting than the angels. They are all brought into the same plane of representation, but differ considerably in action and expression. Our interest in the Naples relief is heightened by the constant discovery of new features in the composition, which escape altogether the casual observer. There is something, but not so much, of this source of pleasure in the design of the Shaw relief. On the other hand, the Shaw relief exhibits a somewhat later stage in the development of relief sculpture. The conception of space is more advanced. We feel that the cherubs have not been forced into a single plane of representation, as in an Egyptian relief, but live and move in a space of three dimensions. They are smaller, and to some extent less distinct, as they recede from the standpoint of the observer. There is also, if I am not mistaken, in the Shaw relief a suggestion of a new law of perspective known as "di sotto in su." The spectator is supposed to stand not on a level with the horizon line, but below it. It was about 1440 when Donatello gave well-recognized exhibitions of this new perspective in the stucco medallions in S. Lorenzo. It may also be observed that in the bronze doors of S. Lorenzo Donatello gave to every figure a nimbus, and that in the Shaw relief, except in the case of two cherubs, nimbuses occur above the heads of all. For these reasons, the Shaw relief may be assigned to a date later than that of the Naples relief (1427) and somewhat earlier than those in S. Lorenzo (1440). To determine the date still more closely, one may note the resemblance of the cherub heads to some of those on Donatello's pulpit at Prato (1434-1438). In fact, we are inclined to attribute to Donatello himself the general sketch for this relief and the modeling of the Madonna's face. Possibly one of his assistants executed the heads of the cherubs.¹

The Madonna della Scodella (Fig. 3) is a signed and dated work, not to be neglected in the history of the school of Donatello. The composition shows a half figure of the Madonna leaning over and gazing upon the Child, who is richly dressed, reclining on a cushion, and holding in his hand a bowl, such as Correggio placed

¹ This relief was first published by Dr. Bode in his *Denkmäler* (1892-1905), p. 42, Taf. 151. Fräulein Schottmüller, Paul Schubring, Alfred G. Meyer, Venturi, and Siren followed his lead. As early as 1903 Lord Balcarres wrote that it had been attributed to Donatello on good authority, but suggested that it might be by the hand of a weaker man. In 1911 Miss Cruttwell admitted that the forms and sentiment were Donatellesque, but held that the modeling was not to be attributed to Donatello's own hand.



FIG. 1. BARTOLOMMEO BELLANO: THE MADONNA AND TWO ANGELS.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.



FIG. 2. DONATELLO: THE MADONNA OF THE CLOUDS.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

in the hands of the Virgin in his well-known painting of the Madonna della Scodella. An angel supports the Child, and between the angel and the Madonna is the head of the youthful St. John Baptist. If we ask why does the infant Christ hold a dish and why is the young St. John Baptist present, the answer illuminates the entire composition. The *scodella* is explained in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, ch. 20. We are told that on the third day of the Journey of the Holy Family to Egypt the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert. Hungry and thirsty, she reposed beneath the shade of a palm tree. At the bidding of the Child the branches of the palm tree bent down to the very feet of the Madonna and refreshed her with its fruit, and from the roots of the tree there arose a spring of water "exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling." Correggio tells the story with all its details. Here we have it reduced to its simplest elements: the Virgin Mother, the angel who led the way, and the Child holding the bowl of water which quenched her thirst.

The presence of S. Giovannino, the youthful St. John Baptist, is not recorded by Pseudo-Matthew. It is a later gloss, which we find in the "Meditationes Vitae Christi" attributed to Cardinal Bonaventura. In the eleventh chapter, which treats of the return of our Lord from Egypt, we are told that toward the end of the desert the Holy Family encountered John the Baptist near the spot where the Children of Israel came dry-footed out of Egypt and where John afterwards baptized.

This relief is not a story-telling composition, but a compact, symbolic one, the full significance of which is clear only to those who know the story. In style of execution we find the hardness, the inexperience of one who was more accustomed to work in some other material, a wood carver perhaps, or a modeler in clay. The community for which the relief was made was evidently one fond of rich garments, embroideries and silk scarfs. The relief seems to have been conceived in the same region as the works of Mantegna, the Bellini, and Crivelli. So we are not surprised to find on the back the inscription: "1461. OPUS BARTOLOMEUS BELANI" (Fig. 4). It is claimed to be, therefore, an early work, the earliest dated work in fact, of Bartolommeo Bellano, one of Donatello's best known pupils. The inscription is evidently ancient, though by no means calligraphic, and, as it stands, ungrammatical. After

the analogy of Donatello's pulpits in S. Lorenzo, one should expect the signature to be "1461 OPUS BELANI." Bellano's own signature in 1467 on the chair of the colossal bronze statue of Pope Paul II at Perugia reads: "*Hoc Bellanus opus Patavus conflavit*," etc. Hence we might expect here HOC OPUS BARTOLOMEUS BELANI FECIT (or FILIUS FECIT). His will, dated 1479, was signed *Bartholomeus bellan q. Bellani aurificis scolptor de Padua*. We should not require too much grammatical accuracy even of one who lived under the shadow of the University of Padua.

The relief shows much discoloration, due probably to the inefficient molder who took a cast of it some years ago. In 1889 a cast in terracotta was presented to the Berlin Museum (No. 261).

The Madonna and Child with a Book (Fig. 5) may be assigned to one of Donatello's Paduan followers about the year 1470. The sculptor was not Bellano himself, but one of his contemporaries. In the garland suspended from rings we find a general resemblance in treatment to the garland in Bellano's tomb of Antonia Roselli (d. Dec. 16, 1466); in the Child with broad-collared shirt, wide sash, and bare legs, as well as in the motive of holding a book, we find a parallel in the *putti* on the marble cornice of the sacristy of S. Antonio, executed by Bellano between 1469 and 1472. But the exaggerated forehead of the Madonna, the enormous cherub on her neck, and the inelastic cushion on which the Child reposes indicate the work of an assistant rather than that of a master.

The Madonna and Child and Two Angels (Fig. 1), a terracotta relief, somewhat later in date, was probably molded by Bartolommeo Bellano about the year 1490. It exhibits the influence of Donatello's dramatic compositions. The Madonna's face brings to mind scenes of the Deposition or of the Bewailing over the Dead Body of Christ. Motherhood is here swallowed up in tragedy. Even the Child seems to feel it as He presses His face behind that of His Mother. His head and that of the two angels may readily be attributed to the sculptor of the Madonna della Scodella. The Madonna's features have changed but little in the thirty odd years which had elapsed since 1461. We can still recognize Bellano's handiwork, although his style has broadened under Donatello's influence. In this relief he has reached the stage represented by his documented Madonna of the Roccabonella monument in S. Francesco, Padua, begun in 1491 and finished by Riccio in 1498. In



Fig. 3. SCHOOL OF DONATELLO: THE MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA.

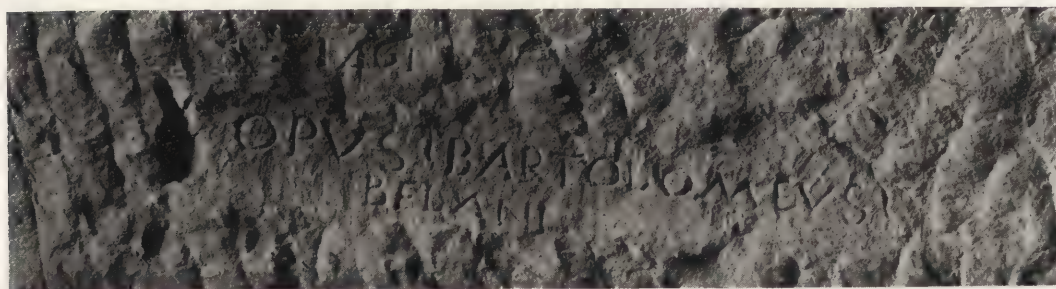


Fig. 4. INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF THE MADONNA DELLA SCODELLA.

The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.





Fig. 5. PADUAN FOLLOWER OF DONATELLO: THE MADONNA OF THE BOOK.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.



Fig. 6. SCHOOL OF DONATELLO: THE MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.



that monument the highly decorated nimbuses, which were so popular in Padua, were omitted altogether. Without doubt, they were omitted in this relief also. It seems incredible that Bellano would have given a cruciferous nimbus, an attribute of Christ alone, to the Madonna and the angels also. These nimbuses may have been added at a later date.

The attribution of the relief of The Madonna adoring the Child (Fig. 6) cannot be made with entire certainty. It is a contemporary marble reproduction, with slight variations, of a marble relief in the Louvre, No. 14 in Barbet de Jouy's catalogue (1876). The Louvre relief was assigned to the sixteenth instead of the fifteenth century, with no further determination except that it was placed next to a bronze head assigned to the School of North Italy. Schubring published the Louvre relief in *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 451. He mistook the photograph for that of a stucco in the Berlin Museum (Schottmüller's catalogue, No. 58) and attributed it without detailed comparisons to Andrea di Francesco Guardi. The foundation for this attribution is not altogether clear. The Louvre relief is said to have come from Pisa, and Schubring immediately thought of Andrea di Francesco Guardi, who carved a number of reliefs at Pisa. His attribution has been accepted, perhaps too readily, by several students of Italian sculpture.

Another marble relief, of the same composition and quality as the Shaw relief, was sold a few years ago with the Ferroni Collection. In the catalogue it was No. 276, illustrated on Planche XXXI. It is treated as a Madonna of the Niche and is surrounded by a heavy frame.

A further modification of the same composition may be seen in another marble Madonna of the Niche, No. 251 of the Berlin Museum. This is evidently closely related to the Ferroni and Shaw reliefs.

These slightly varied Adorations in Boston, Paris, Rome and Berlin are all reflections of the same composition, although varied in details and differing in quality. The name of Andrea di Francesco Guardi will serve a useful purpose, if only as an indication that these reliefs now scattered are closely related to one another.

THE STORY OF TWO OLD PRINTS • BY DR. H. SELFE BENNETT

FOR more years than one cares to remember two oval (12 by 10 inches) stipple engravings in color have been hanging on my wall (Figs. 1 and 2). Memory telleth not when they were purchased nor the price paid for them, only that they appealed originally to my covetousness on account of the subjects depicted. They had been framed up close so that it was not possible to ascertain the names of the artist and engraver; they were companion pictures, evidently by the same hand. Hitherto, these engravings had been ascribed to Bartolozzi, or at least to one of his pupils; while in the full assurance of ignorance they had been held to represent the Foundling and Bethlehem Hospitals. Alas for human certainty! Not one of these statements was correct; removed from their frames, it was found that the ruthless hands which had mutilated the margins had preserved below each picture "T. S. Duché, junr. pinxit. Engraved by G. Quinton." Neither of these names was known to European fame, and a fruitless search among the works of Bartolozzi was thus accounted for. There was no mention either of painter or engraver by the authorities consulted. Further inquiry seemed quite hopeless when a friend, the Rev. E. G. O'Donoghue, Chaplain of Bethlehem Royal Hospital, who was engaged in writing a history of that ancient foundation, obtained from Bryan's "Dictionary of Artists and Engravers" a reference to Vol. 66 of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This contained not only an account of these very prints but also of their engraver, in the quaint style and verbiage of the transition period from Johnson to Macaulay. In the number for January, 1796, there is a letter to Mr. Urban, signed W. Stevenson of Norwich, from which we learn that the artist died prior to October in the previous year, for we read that G. Quinton "is at present engraving two ovals from very pleasing originals painted by the late Mr. Duché, in the possession of B. G. Dillingham, Esq., near this city; one represents Hope delivering two orphan girls in distress to the Genius of the Asylum; the other, Charity, presenting an emaciated prostitute, in a state of despair, to three reclaimed females at the door of the Magdalen Hospital."

Our search having thus unexpectedly been rewarded by sundry "curious particulars" about G. Quinton, endeavor was made to ob-

tain further information concerning the paintings and T. S. Duché, junr., the artist.

Success was again met with, for inquiry from Lord Cranworth, the present owner of Grundisburgh Hall, Woodbridge, Suffolk, elicited the reply: "The pictures that you mention are both at Grundisburgh. As far as I know, there is no record of how they were acquired; I was also ignorant that they were painted by Duché."

Application to the Female Orphan Asylum was courteously responded to by the Secretary, Mr. Bouverie Risk, who wrote: "On the back of the accompanying Report you will see a copy of a picture of T. S. Duché; we have the original at the Asylum and I shall be very pleased to show it to you if you care to come down. I find on consulting the minutes of 1782 that in July of that year a Rev. Mr. Duché was appointed Secretary and Chaplain."

Now the back wrapper of the Report carried a print of a picture substantially the same as the one here reproduced, yet with a difference; it was engraved not by G. Quinton, but by Wm. Skelton (Fig. 3). There were then two pictures of the same subject by the same artist, but each had been engraved by a different engraver. As to the Duchés, father and son, the knowledge gained is derived from the same source, Mr. Risk having obtained for me from the former Secretary (Mr. Maltby) copies of a series of articles published by Mr. Charles Higham in *The New Church Magazine* for January, September and October, 1896.

Francis Barthelemon (1741-1808) was the composer who pleased Garrick by setting to music the words of a song in the play "The Country Girl," when, as the tale is told, he actually wrote the melody as quickly as the actor-manager penned the poetry; so delighted was the great little man that he insisted on the musician dining with him that day in company with Dr. Johnson. About the year 1780 an acquaintance commenced between Barthelemon and the Rev. Jacob Duché, who was then Secretary and Chaplain to the Asylum for Female Orphans in St. George's Fields; Mrs. Barthelemon, also a musician and public singer at Marylebone Gardens and elsewhere had previously been in the constant habit of attending his ministry. In 1770 her husband had been appointed leader of the orchestra at Vauxhall Gardens, a post which he held until 1776, when he took a professional tour on the Continent; apparently he resumed his duties on his return from abroad. His friend, the Rev.

Jacob Duché, is described as "one of the most eloquent and popular preachers in London, who had embraced the doctrines of the New Church (Swedenborgian) and in all his discourses had given evident proofs of his attachment to them." Barthelemon's portrait was painted by Gainsborough, and there is a reproduction thereof as a frontispiece to *The New Church Magazine*, January, 1896.

It is, however, with the Rev. Jacob that we are most concerned, seeing that he was the father of Thomas Spence Duché, who painted the two pictures at Grundisburgh Hall, engraved by George Quinton, and also that which hangs in the Board Room at Beddington, engraved by Wm. Skelton. Jacob Duché, "one of the earliest receivers in this country of the doctrines promulgated by Emanuel Swedenborg," was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Anthony, both of whom were substantial citizens of Philadelphia. Anthony, a French protestant, sailed with his wife to America in the same ship with William Penn. On the voyage Penn borrowed from Duché about £30; after landing, Penn offered a valuable square of ground, in the center of the city, in lieu of the money. Said Duché: "You are very good, Mr. Penn, and the offer might prove advantageous, but the money would suit me better." "Well, well," said Penn, "thou shalt have thy money; but canst thou not see that this will be a great city in a very short time?"

Jacob Duché, the second, the grandson of this shortsighted pioneer, and the father of the artist, was born in 1737; twenty years later he came to England to complete his studies and became a student at Clare Hall, Cambridge; but as his residence there was for two years only, it is not surprising that his name is absent from the college list of graduates. In 1759 he returned to Philadelphia, having been licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate in the churches of that city. His first published sermon was printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1763. At the rupture between Great Britain and her Colonies he acted the ignoble part of a time-server, or Vicar of Bray, first as a Republican and then as a Loyalist. On the 4th of July, 1776, as Rector of Christ's Church he omitted the petitions in the Liturgy for the King of Great Britain and her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Charlotte; a few days later he was appointed Chaplain of Congress. He held office for only three months, resigning on the score of health. "There were, however, some who attributed this step to the approaching advent of the British troops." On the Sunday after the en-



Painted by T. S. Duché.

ASYLUM for female ORPHANS instituted in the Year 1758.

Engraved by W. Skelton

Fig. 3. REPRODUCTION OF ENGRAVING BY WILLIAM SKELTON.
(From a Painting by Thomas Spence Duché, Jun., in the Board
Room of the Asylum for Female Orphans at Beddington.)



Fig. 1. RECEPTION OF FEMALE ORPHANS.
(From a Stippled Print in Colors by G. Quinton
after Thomas Spence Duché, Jun.)



Fig. 2. MAGDALEN HOSPITAL.
(From a Colored Stipple Print by G. Quinton after
a Painting by Thomas Spence Duché, Jun.)





Fig. 4. THOMAS SPENCE DUCHÉ, JUN.: REV. JACOB DUCHÉ AND HIS WIFE, ELIZABETH HOPKINSON.
The Hopkinson Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.



Fig. 5. THOMAS SPENCE DUCHÉ, JUN.: PARSON DUCHÉ AND HIS SON (THE ARTIST).
The Hopkinson Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.



trance of Sir William Howe into Philadelphia he officiated in his church and restored to the Liturgy the prayer for George III; notwithstanding this he was arrested, though soon set free by friendly influence on making known his change of sentiment and taking the oath of allegiance; ten days later he addressed a letter to General Washington, urging him, with his army, to resume his allegiance to the Crown. To this letter Washington sent a verbal reply by messenger: "I should have returned it unopened had I known its contents." As Washington made the letter public by laying it before Congress, Duché's reputation as a republican was irretrievably ruined, and in December, 1777, he sailed for England.

In 1782 we find Duché appointed Chaplain and Secretary to the Asylum founded in 1758 by the blind Magistrate Sir John Fielding, half-brother to Henry, the novelist, which was then upon the site now partly occupied by Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road; he held this office for seven years, when he resigned and was appointed a Governor of the Institution.

At the Asylum for Female Orphans at Beddington there is an oil painting by T. S. Duché, the son of the chaplain. This was engraved by "William Skelton (1763-1848), line engraver, best known by plates after Beechey" (Dicty. of Nat. Biography). This picture is erroneously described by Mr. Charles Higham as "representing a widow bringing her two orphan girls to a female figure, representing Charity, who yearns to receive them." Actually the "widow" is Hope or Faith, as she is decorated with an emblematic anchor. "The background is occupied by a portion of the Asylum building and Lambeth Parish Church, where the funeral of the father is pictured as even then taking place. The artist appears to have been of some ability and his portrait of Bishop Seabury, engraved by Sharpe, is dedicated to Benjamin West, by his friend and pupil."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790 (p. 373) states that T. S. Duché, junr., died in that year, aged twenty-six years and six months, his remains being buried in Lambeth Churchyard. The father died in 1798 in his native city, to which he had returned in 1792.

Recently, further information has been obtained concerning Thomas Spence Duché who died so prematurely. It now appears that his name still lives not "without honor in his own country," and the city of his birth. Our informant is Mr. William Roberts. He

writes as follows, "T. S. Duché is quite well known to students of American art, though his works are very rare. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania owns the following portraits in oil: (i) Rev. Jacob Duché, and his wife (Elizabeth Hopkinson); (ii) Parson Duché and his son (the artist) by Thos. Spence Duché—both half-length and important works" (Figs. 4 and 5).

These portraits in oil must have accompanied the father, proud of the artistic power of his lost son, on his return to Philadelphia, but whether Parson Jacob introduced with them the doctrines of the "New Church" history sayeth not and it is not pertinent to inquire. That the works of Thomas Spence Duché are "very rare" is what would be expected from our knowledge of his early death. The present writer has, however, lately acquired an engraving of another picture by this artist of talent, if not of genius. This print had probably been framed at one time; at any rate, it is so cut down that the title of the subject and the name of the engraver have been removed. The only portion of margin left bears "T. S. Duché pinxit"; any attempt, therefore, to trace the painting itself is rendered difficult if not impossible. The following description is given in hope of its leading to identification. It is a mezzotint engraving, circular in shape, with a diameter of 8 inches; the subject is allegorical but the meaning thereof is not clear. On the left is a seated female figure with her right arm resting on a globe, her foot on a two-stepped platform; in front of her are three young children, one below her with a tablet and style, the second on her left knee; the third child to her left, with extended arm draws her attention to a fully draped white figure, without wings, standing in the center midst a blaze of light radiating from her head and body; the left arm is lifted apparently to raise her veil and ward off a muscular and semi-nude Father Time, of Wellingtonian features, with his scythe in his left hand, who occupies the right of the scene in half darkness. The folds of the dark and heavy curtain, which is drawn up so as to hang over two-thirds of the top of the picture, are by no means so gracefully drawn as the drapery of the figure of light, but the whole design, apart from a Rembrandtesque effect, is suggestive of the influence of Angelica Kauffmann or Stothard.

The lesson to be learned needs, as has been said, a skilled interpreter.

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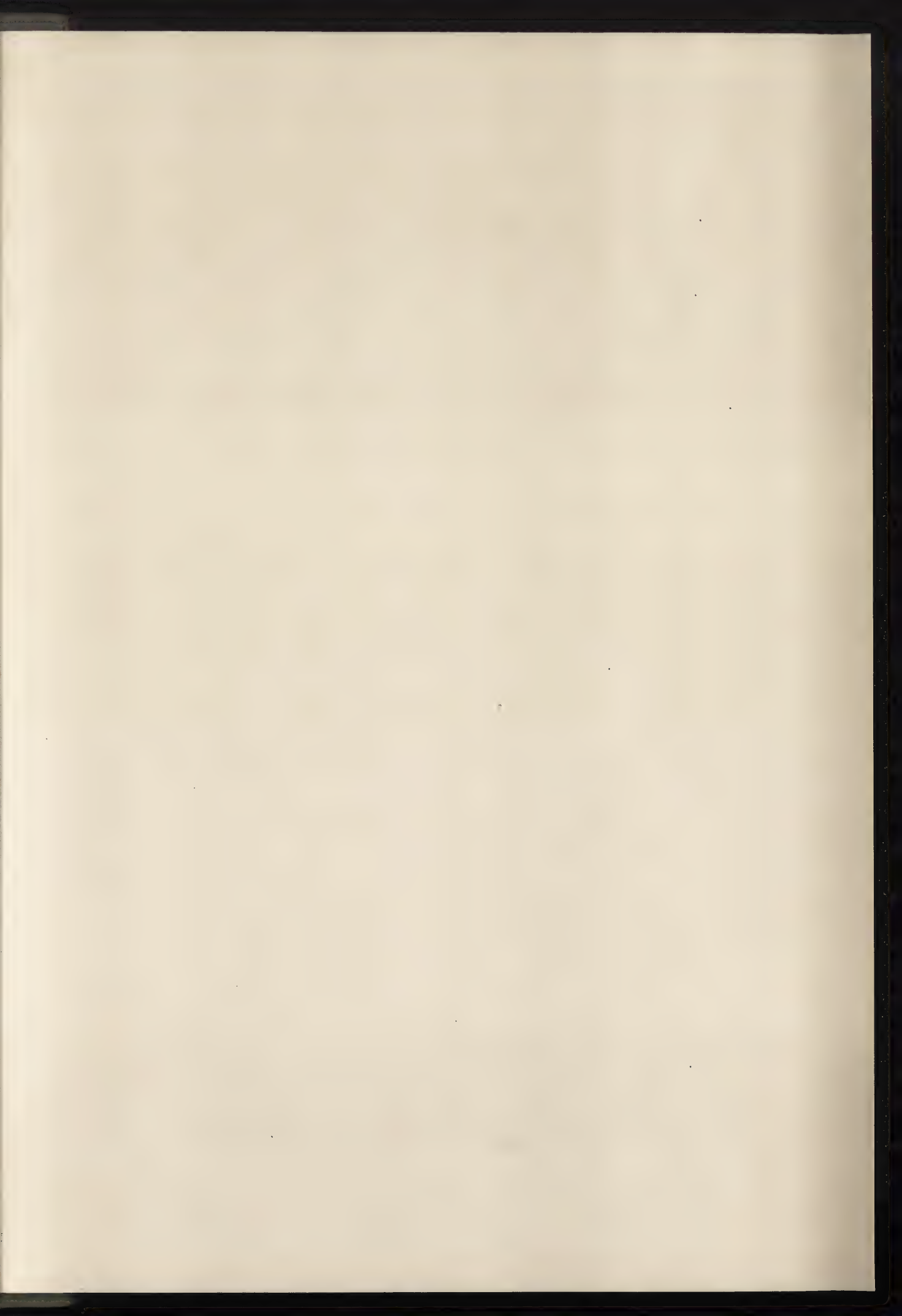
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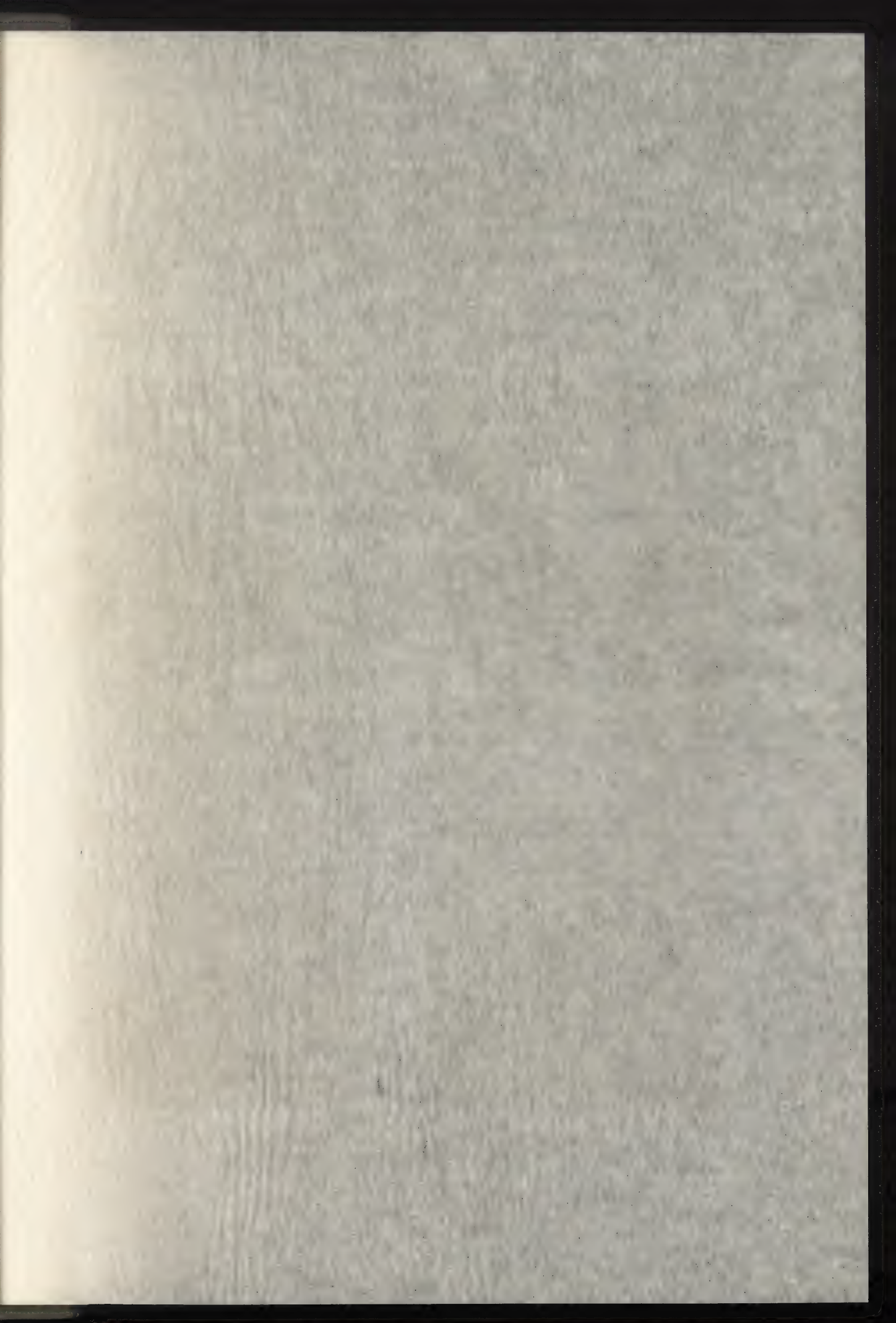
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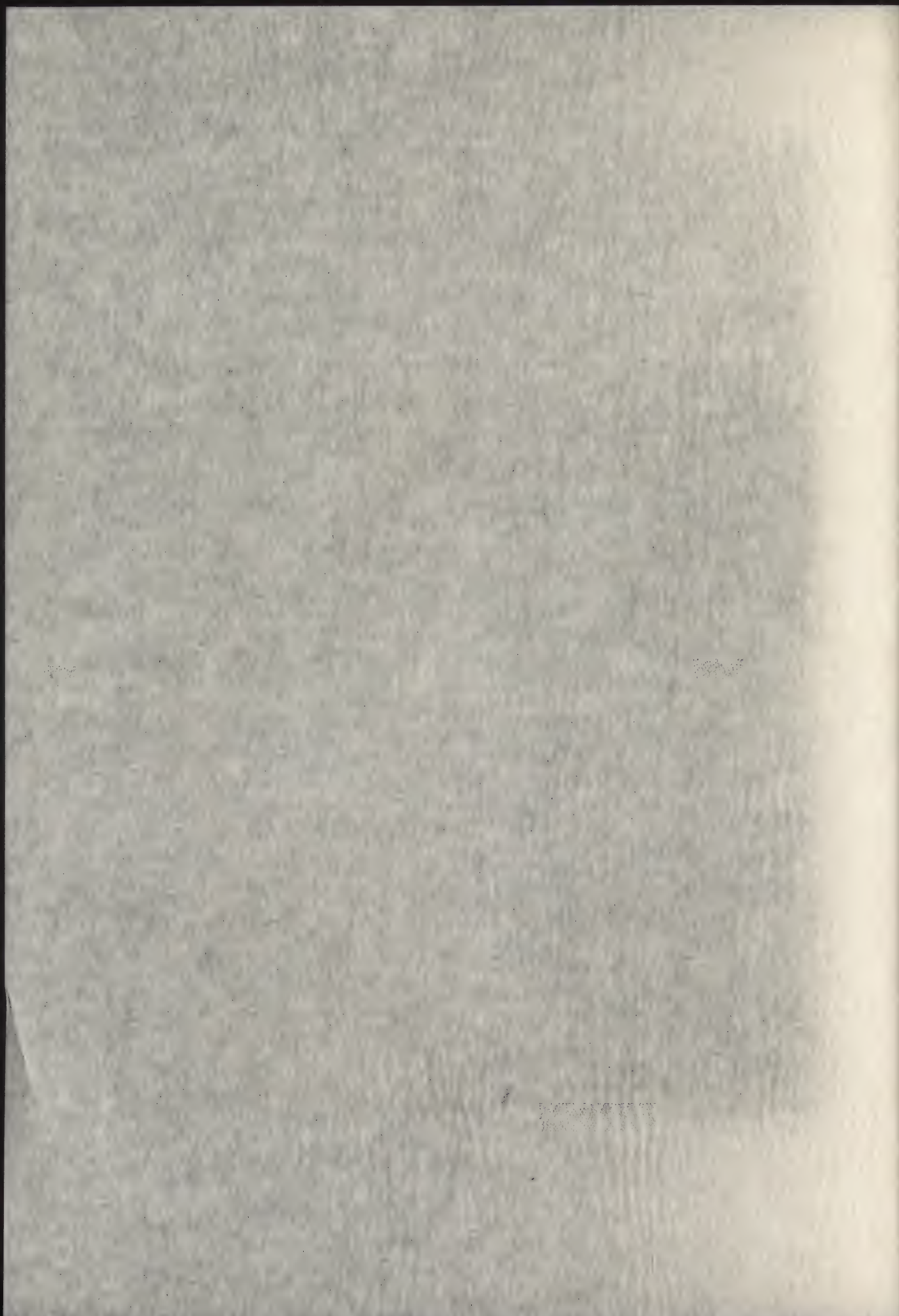
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HANS MEMLING: TWO WINGS OF AN ALTAR PIECE
COLLECTION OF MR. J. P. MORGAN, NEW YORK





ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME VI NUMBER VI · OCTOBER MCMXVIII

TWO ALTAR WINGS BY MEMLING · BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

THE two altar wings with portraits and patron saints, belonging to Mr. J. P. Morgan, have been known and discussed for more than half a century. They are elaborately described in the catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection. No one has seriously questioned their authenticity, and all critics have agreed as to the quality of the panels. And indeed, though primitive Flemish painting will show more masterful portraiture, as will Memling himself in his best phase, few early pictures excel these in minute and careful workmanship. A certain awkwardness, evidence of a painstaking not yet become facile, is a part of the attraction. The device of keeping the portraits of the kneeling donors within the columnar contours of the patron saints is an archaism, perhaps, which beautifully emphasizes the idea of sacred ward and tutelage. The rather pale tonality and the minuteness of the detail, with corresponding hardness of touch, again points backward towards the Van Eycks and Rogier de la Pasture. Doubtless necessity forced the sober contrast of deep blues and blacks in the costume, but here again we are far from the splendor of Memling's maturity.

Dr. Kaemmerer, noting that the male saint is the hermit knight St. William of Malouel (erroneously St. George in the R. Kann Catalogue), has suggested that the donor is William Vrelant, the well-known miniaturist of Bruges. There are documents showing that in 1480 he paid Memling for wings, with portraits of the Donor and Wife, of a triptych for the Abbey of St. John at Eeckhout. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that the donor wears a pen-case at his belt. Kaemmerer identifies the female saint as the Prophetess Hannah, on the strength of a perhaps casual resemblance to the Hannah on the Presentation, in the Jean Floreins altarpiece. Personally I know of no other case where a St. (?)

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Hannah appears as a patron, and it seems likely to me that the benign elderly saint is the mother of the Virgin, St. Ann, with the Breviary out of which Our Blessed Lady learned her first lessons. As to Kaemmerer's identification of the Donors, the date 1480 seems to me impossible. Nothing could be more unlike the suave mastery of the Floreins altarpiece than the somewhat timid achievement we have before us. Karl Voll, with a passing word of skepticism as to authorship, sets our panels considerably earlier. To me it seems they may be quite the earliest Memlings extant, and that any other theory would lead to their exclusion from the canon. In this view I rest upon the instinct that these are Memlings and that the mood is distinctly juvenile.

What we know about the central panel, a Crucifixion with Saints and a donor, confirms the view that the work is early. There is in the Venice Academy a sixteenth century copy of the entire composition brought into one oblong panel. The gallery at Vicenza owns what many critics have taken for the original central panel. It agrees closely with the copy at Venice, and the dimensions are right for the wings. The composition is strongly reminiscent of Rogier de la Pasture. Besides the usual attendant figures, a kneeling Camaldolese bishop appears as a donor, with a bishop saint of that order as patron. These portraits are much in the manner of the Van Eycks. Because of inferior quality as painting, and even more because the landscape of the central panel does not quite tally with that of the wings, Voll and Kaemmerer regard the Crucifixion at Vicenza as merely an old copy. So far as I may judge from reproductions, the picture well deserves to be doubted. The original itself was poor enough as a conception, and there is little reason to regret that the delightful wings have been detached to survive in independent winsomeness. The copies of the Crucifixion bespeak an original dominated by the immediate influence of Rogier de la Pasture, and the work of a delicate and fastidious hand already very able but as yet incompletely trained in portraiture. This sense of effort is undoubtedly what induced Karl Voll to question the panels for an instant on the article of authenticity. It seems to me precisely the quality which we should expect to find in Memling when he was a helper in Rogier de la Pasture's studio or just emerging therefrom.

ITALIAN SCULPTURES IN THE SHAW COLLECTION
AT THE BOSTON MUSEUM. PART TWO: THE DELLA
ROBBIAS • BY ALLAN MARQUAND

THE Shaw Collection, besides furnishing a series of monuments of the school of Donatello, presents for public study and criticism a series of works of the Della Robbias.

Saints and prophets standing in niches are common decorative motives in the Gothic period. Into the fifteenth century, Ghiberti and his followers, Donatello and his school, continued the practice and produced many charming tabernacles to shelter patron and other saints. When half-figures and busts became more frequent it was not unusual to frame them as if in windows or to place them in niches. We seldom think of the unreality of such compositions. In real life the half-figure of a person posed upon a mantel or window sill would shock our sensibilities as an appearance from the ghost world; but in the realm of art we are so accustomed to such apparitions that they seem perfectly natural.

The niche in the Shaw Madonna of the Niche (Fig. 1) is ribbed, a survival of Gothic principles and methods. The ribs are made more prominent by distinctions of colors, having been painted a turquoise-blue quite a different shade from the dark blue of the intervening panels. In the spandrels on the face of the frame are circular disks painted green of a tone to reinforce the color harmony. Against this background the Madonna and Child stand out in sharp contrast softened only by the gilded hair and gray-blue eyes. Not many years ago the contrast was further softened by more gilding, on the girdle and on the border of the mantle and veil. In this way the Madonna became admirably adapted for the subdued light of a private chapel.

We cannot hesitate long in deciding to which master of the Robbia school this Madonna of the Niche should be assigned. Luca's types of the Madonna have become familiar with their serious faces, their wavy hair, their simple drapery, the plain linen girdle. His Madonna of the Apple, in the Museo Nazionale, is more serious and shy than the Shaw Madonna, but already Luca had begun to play with various shades of blue when he painted the ledge and background of that relief.

Closer in type is Luca's composition known as the Genoese Ma-

donna, the finest example of which was formerly in a Gothic tabernacle in the Vico delle Mele in Genoa. Still closer is the Madonna of the Niche in the collection of Mrs. George T. Bliss of New York. The composition is here precisely the same, the variation in detail being insignificant. The two reliefs appear, in fact, to have been cast from the same mould.

Compositions of the general character of The Nativity (Fig. 2) are usually designated Nativities, although it is no longer the actual birth of the Child that interests artists of this period. The Nativity in fact has been transformed into an Adoration. Here the Child is being adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph, by the Ox and Ass, and by four Angels singing the Gloria in Excelsis.

The actual construction of the composition is not altogether clear. The Child reclines upon coarse hay, raising His hand toward His Mother, but whether the wicker barrier is the side of a basket or manger, or a species of fence, was probably not definitely considered by the designer himself. Nor did he consider it necessary to represent the shed or stable in which the manger was located. Such is the sculptor's license.

The Virgin and St. Joseph are absorbed in adoration, so much so in fact as to be unconscious of their equilibrium. It would require only a gentle touch to make them fall forward. More firmly lodged are the four angels and equally intent on their mission. The sculptor of this relief was certainly a religious man who drew his forms from Luca della Robbia. His angels were modeled under the inspiration of the predella of the Tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta. It would have been difficult a little later for a sculptor of the Robbia school to portray an Adoration of the Child without yielding to the graceful influence of Andrea della Robbia. Here the Virgin and St. Joseph, as well as the angels, are closer to Luca's forms. The Child, however, and the hay and the wicker barrier are modeled and colored in a way which betrays the hand of the assistant rather than that of the master. This same assistant—we dare not call him Andrea—repeated the Adoration of the Child in simpler compositions in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and in the Municipio, Genoa. But of this series the Shaw Nativity was his masterpiece.

The Madonna in the Madonna of the Lilies (Fig. 3) is posed in somewhat similar attitude to that of Donatello's Madonna of the Clouds, her face in profile, her body in three-quarters view. Here



Fig. 1. LUCA DELLA ROBbia: MADONNA OF THE NICHE.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 3. ATELIER OF LUCA DELLA ROBbia: MADONNA OF THE LILIES.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





Fig. 2. ATELIER OF LUCA DELLA ROBBIA: THE NATIVITY.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



she is seated not in the clouds, but upon a cushion, erect and unbending, set upon a light green, flowery sward. The Child holds no symbol, apple, pomegranate, globe, to explain His character. He turns upon the axis of His body away from His Mother and in purely human, childlike fashion grasps at a stalk of lilies. One wonders whether Luca della Robbia, steeped in religious sentiment, would have abandoned his hierarchic types and have created a Madonna as a Belle Jardinière. This transformation could hardly have taken place before Luca was a very old man. And yet, as in the preceding relief, there is much here that reminds us of Luca della Robbia. The angels floating adoringly in the heavens are his in type. The lily was a plant he delighted to introduce in his compositions. The treatment of hair and drapery reflect his love of simplicity. The delicate color harmony, such as there is, is in accordance with his taste. Nevertheless, in Luca's forms there breathes here a new spirit, such as could have come only from a younger man. So we attribute it to Luca's atelier, not to Luca himself. The subject was evidently a popular one, for we find variants of it in the Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna; in the Simon Collection in the Berlin Museum; and in the church of S. Andrea at Rovezzano. The Shaw Madonna is the most complete and may well have been the inspiration for the other and less elaborate compositions.

Madonna compositions are frequently differentiated by the emblem carried by the Divine Child, as in *The Madonna of the Dove* (Fig. 4). He is conceived as the conqueror of the world and carries a globe surmounted by a cross; as the Saviour from sin, holding an apple; as the founder of a religion that would increase and multiply, carrying a pomegranate; as one who should suffer, holding a cross or crown of thorns; as a human child with every childish impulse. Here He holds a dove, emblem of purity, of the spirit, of the Holy Spirit. The goldfinch held by the Child in Raphael's celebrated painting is an artistic variation of the dove motive.

In the Church of S. Egidio, connected with the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, there is a fine relief by Andrea della Robbia in which the Madonna is seated in a folding chair. On her knees stands the Child, with His left arm about His Mother's neck, and in His right hand a dove. Overhead floats the Holy Dove. This composition appears to have inspired a number of reliefs produced in Andrea's atelier from about 1480 to about 1525. One of the finest is the Shaw

relief in the Boston Museum. It is framed by an egg and dart moulding and supported by a winged cherub console. The olive-leaf decoration of the console occurs in the atelier of Andrea della Robbia between 1480 and 1490. The central composition has been slightly modified. Instead of the Holy Dove floating in the sky, three conventional cherub heads are substituted. The Madonna no longer is seated, but stands before a balcony rail upon which the Child is standing. This motive is carried out in a more realistic fashion by Verrocchio and Leonardo da Vinci, but in sculpture the abbreviations are such as sometimes to make the composition unintelligible. Without the aid of these contemporary compositions it would be impossible for us to tell how this Madonna is supported in space. In the latter half of the fifteenth century the Della Robbias often decorated their reliefs with superficial gilding. Here this decoration appears to have been renovated, but much of the original gilding remains.

Replicas of this relief are to be seen (1) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, framed by a fruit garland; (2) at Donaldson's, London, similarly framed; (3) at Bardini's, Florence, framed with a cherub frieze; (4) at the Louvre, a coarser relief with a heavy fruit frame; (5) at Mr. Newall's, Rickmansworth, unframed, no cherubs, finer Madonna's head; (6) in the Lyons Museum, no frame, no background, partially glazed, polychromatic; (7) Castello di Lari, near Pisa, heavier types, heavy fruit frame with arms of the Segni family on frame and console. Probable date, 1525.

Busts of boys, in marble, bronze, or terracotta were not uncommon in Italy in the fifteenth century. Frequently their haughty carriage suggests that they were the sons of noble families, who merely posed as youthful saints. Desiderio, Antonio Rossellino, Benedetto da Maiano and the Della Robbias are the sculptors to whom they are usually assigned. Occasionally companion busts, one of the boy Christ, the other of S. Giovannino the Boy Baptist, were made by the same hand for the same patron.

The bust of the youthful St. John Baptist (Fig. 5), acquired by Mr. Shaw many years ago, is of terracotta. Its stains indicate that it was originally painted, as was the fashion of the day. The hair-cloth over the right shoulder tells us the subject, and his eager look to the right suggests that it was a companion piece to a Boy Christ of the same artist. The bust has always been attributed to Antonio



Fig. 5. SCULPTOR OF THE TRIVULZIO AND S. ANSANO BUSTS: BUST OF
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AS A YOUTH.
The Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 4. ATELIER OF ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA:
MADONNA OF THE DOVE.



Rossellino, so we naturally look to his works for parallels. We would not be far wrong in classing it with the shroud-bearing *putti* on the tomb of Jacopo di Portogallo at San Miniato (1461) or with those on the tomb of Maria of Aragon in the church of Monte Oliveto at Naples (1470), or with the garland bearers above the Nativity altarpiece in the same church at Naples. However, we may recall the intimate relationship of Rossellino with the Della Robbias, Below Rossellino's beautiful St. Sebastian at Empoli was laid a charming Robbia pavement. Glazed terracotta pavements are found near Rossellino's altarpieces in the Church of Monte Oliveto, and Robbia medallions of the Evangelists in another part of the same church. His beautiful altarpiece of the Nativity, with the choir of angels above the shed, served as the inspiration for several altarpieces in the Robbia school.

An extremely close parallel to the bust may be found in a glazed terracotta bust of S. Giovannino in the possession of Prince Trivulzio, exhibited at the exhibition of Industrial Art held in Milan in 1874. It is a companion piece to a Boy Christ in the same collection. Both of these busts are reproduced by the Manifattura Signa under the title Della Robbia. There is, moreover, in medallion form at S. Ansano near Fiesole, an unglazed boy head in which the hair and facial character are very similar to those of the Shaw bust.

There was undoubtedly a member of the Robbia school strongly influenced by Antonio Rossellino. We may call him the Sculptor of the Trivulzio and S. Ansano busts, and to him—whoever he may be—we may attribute this well-modeled and attractive little St. John.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advance made by the science of archæology during the last century, it is a singular fact that the best book upon stained glass is still the work of Ferdinand de Lasteyrie,¹ which was published in 1853. That is to say, we know little more about the history of painting on glass to-day than was known seventy years ago. The latest account of the art, written by M. Mâle and published in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*,² brings home in a striking manner the slight progress of modern research in dealing with this, perhaps the most beautiful of all arts. M. Mâle leaves many fundamental questions still unanswered.

The origins of the art of stained glass are now, as a century ago, wrapped in obscurity. Literary sources make it probable that the art existed at a date much earlier than that of any glass that has come down to us. It is known that as early as the fourth century the windows of churches were glazed with colored glass,³ inserted in wooden or stone frames. Such windows continued to be used in France as late as the end of the tenth century, since traces of one apparently of that date were found in the church of Château-Landon (Seine-et-Marne).⁴ Eventually, however, the wooden or stone framework came to be replaced by leading, fastening together the small pieces of colored glass. This appears to have been the procedure followed in the windows of Monte Cassino, erected about 1066.⁵ It was hence a short step to combine the pieces of glass to form a picture and supplement the form given by the leading with surface painting. Precisely when this was done, however, it is not so easy to determine. The texts which refer to the stained-glass windows of churches are commonly not sufficiently explicit to make it absolutely certain to which of the three types the windows in question belong. Apparently, however, pictorial windows were known as early as the ninth century. A much-quoted text of Flodoard seems to imply that such existed in the cathedral at Reims, built by Hincmar and finished in 846.⁶ Another text seems to indicate that stained-glass

¹ *Histoire de la peinture sur verre*. Paris, Firmin Didot, 1853-1857, 2 vols. folio.

² André Michel, *Histoire de l'art, depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris, Colin, 1905-1912, 9 vols. 8vo.

³ F. de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, I, 4; Josef Ludwig Fischer, *Handbuch der Glasmalerei*, Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1914, 8vo, p. 38 following.

⁴ Michel, *op. cit.*, 12, 783.

⁵ F. de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, I, 12.

⁶ Porter, *Medieval Architecture*, II, 106. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1912, 2 vols. 8vo.



Fig. 1. "Le Roi de Bourges": STAINED-GLASS PANEL.
Collection of Mr. Henry C. Lawrence, New York.



Figs. 2 and 3. DETAILS OF WINDOW OF STS. GERVASTUS AND PROTASIVS IN
CATHEDRAL OF LE MANS.



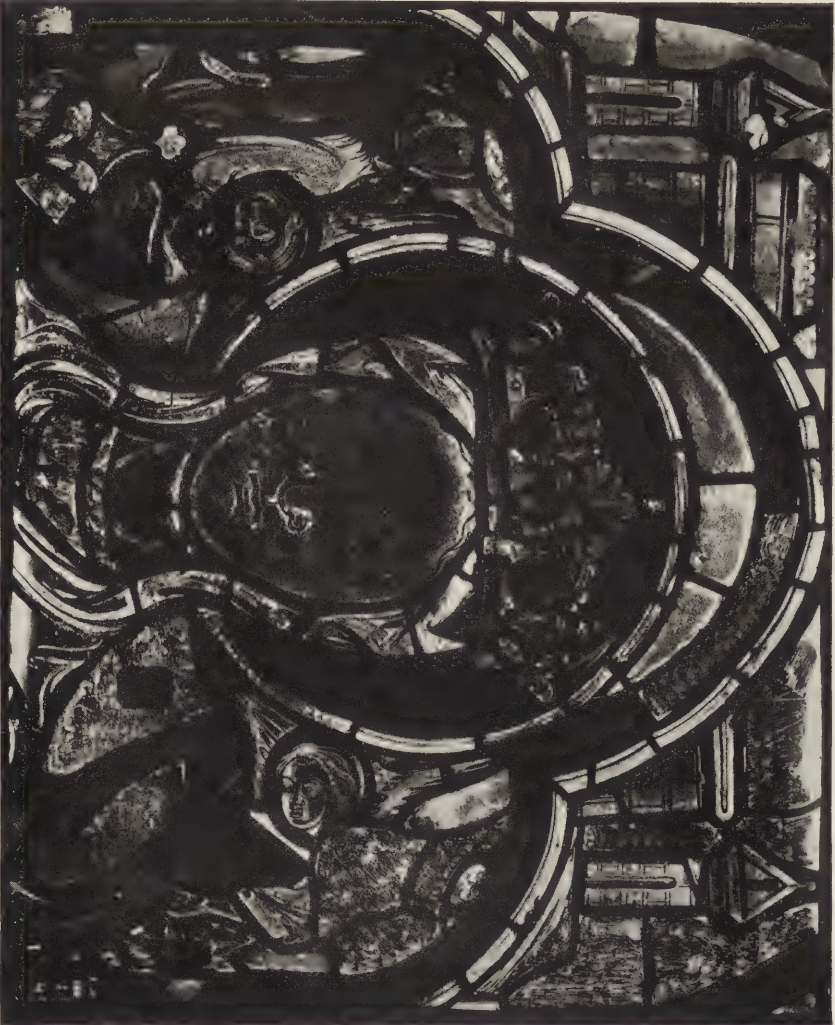


Fig. 4. WINDOW OF THE VIRGIN AT LA TRINITÉ, VENDÔME.



Fig. 5. CLEARSTORY WINDOW IN CATHEDRAL AT BOURGES.



windows existed in Germany as early as the first half of the ninth century.¹ The cathedral of Auxerre possessed windows of colored glass from the ninth century.² William the Conqueror supplied the windows for the cathedral of Coutances,³ and a glass-painter at Tours is mentioned in a document dating from between 1081 and 1086.⁴ The sum total of this literary evidence is, however, it must be confessed, entirely unsatisfactory. It is not even beyond dispute that any of the texts in question refer to figured glass and not merely to a colored mosaic. Nor is there the slightest indication as to where the art originated. Theophilus, it is true, speaks of stained glass as being essentially a French art, but it has never been demonstrated at what period Theophilus wrote. His work may have been composed after 1140, when Ile-de-France did indeed become the focal point for the diffusion of the art of glass-making. Suger tells us that he summoned his glass-workers "from many different nations," which perhaps implies that before that time the chief centers of the art had been placed outside of Ile-de-France.

Much the same obscurity surrounds the extant monuments of stained glass suspected of being earlier than 1140. There are, indeed, several pieces which seem distinctly archaic in style, but if they be earlier than Saint-Denis, complete proof of it is lacking. The glass at Augsburg has been assigned in recent years⁵ to the middle of the eleventh century, but the date is mere conjecture. The figure of St. Timothy at Neuviller (Bas-Rhin) certainly seems primitive, but as much might be said of the glass at Strassburg, which is known to be comparatively late. A window at Cluny recorded in a document of the eleventh century is believed to have been at least as early as the tenth century, but here again it is impossible to be certain that there is no equivocation. The window given by Foulques d'Anjou to the church of Loroux about 1121 has been destroyed.

The history of stained glass therefore first emerges from uncertainty into the light with the creation of the windows of Saint-Denis. Of the windows executed under the direction of Suger there still survive four in whole or in part. Of these, the best known, and one of the best preserved, is the Suger window with medallions for the

¹ Michel, *op. cit.*, 12, 782.

² F. de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, I, 184.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 191.

⁴ X. Barbier de Montault, *Le Vitrail de la crucifixion à la cathédrale de Poitiers*. (Bulletin Monumental, Vol. 51, 1885, pp. 158-159.)

⁵ Fischer, *op. cit.*

most part of a highly allegorical character and with a portrait of the abbot introduced in the scene of the *Annunciation*. The Moses window is also in comparatively good condition. On the other hand, the window filled with pure decoration, having in its medallions griffins facing each other, is largely modern, although the ancient outlines have been preserved. The Jesse-tree window, which in the present connection is of especial interest, has also been in great part modernized. F. de Lasteyrie¹ says of it, "les débris anciens sont heureusement fort nombreux, très faciles à distinguer," but whatever may have been the case in his time, it is to-day not so easy to determine which portions are old and which modern. M. Mâle quotes old records to prove that the Christ, the four kings and the seven doves are ancient. The general design of the window corresponds with the drawing of Lenoir, so that it is certain the ancient composition has been preserved. M. Mâle believes that the important motive of the Jesse-tree was created by Suger in this window.² It is at least certain that the Jesse-tree of the western façade of Chartres is copied from that of Saint-Denis. On this point every one, I believe, is agreed. It also is undeniable that the school of Saint-Denis rapidly spread throughout Ile-de-France and the regions to the south and west. At Le Mans (Figs. 2, 3), at Vendôme (Fig. 4) and at Angers there were executed during the second half of the twelfth century windows strikingly analogous to those of Saint-Denis and evidently inspired by them. This school continued to survive as late as the early years of the thirteenth century, as is witnessed by the Crucifixion window of Poitiers, unless indeed, as seems to be more probably the case, there is an error in the dating of this important monument.³

The school of Saint-Denis, which produced the most beautiful stained glass that has ever been created, was succeeded about the end of the twelfth century by another of hardly less merit which has been called, after its principal monument, the school of Chartres. A derivative of the school of Saint-Denis, it was perhaps founded at Sens, whence it was carried to Canterbury (the close artistic relationship between Sens and Canterbury at the end of the twelfth century is a well-known fact) and thence to York. In France it spread

¹ I, 34.

² Emile Mâle. *La part de Suger dans la création de l'iconographie du moyen âge.* (Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, XXXV, 1914, 91, 161, 253, 339.)

³ F. de Lasteyrie, I, 47; X. Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.*

from Sens to Chartres and the adjacent regions such as Bourges (Fig. 5), Tours and Rouen. M. Mâle, however, goes too far in maintaining that all these windows were turned out at Chartres and shipped to their destination. The thirteenth century did not manufacture art in this wholesale manner, which is in the spirit of the commercialism of the twentieth century, but entirely removed from the introspective and artistic viewpoint of the Middle Ages. Striking as are the analogies between the windows of this school, there are also marked differences. If there can be no doubt that the glass of Chartres exerted a powerful influence, it is equally certain that a separate atelier existed in each cathedral.

It is not difficult to recognize that Mr. Lawrence's panel (Fig. 1), which has been given traditionally the title of "Le Roi de Bourges," belongs to the school of Saint-Denis. The fact that the panel is a fragment, it is true, makes it impossible to apply the usual tests by which glass of the twelfth century is distinguished from that of the thirteenth. Thus we are able to judge nothing of the border, which is usually broader in earlier works, narrower in later glass. The original iron bars have also been destroyed, which in the twelfth century frequently cut across the pattern of a window, while in the thirteenth century they follow its contours. The surest proof that Mr. Lawrence's panel belongs to the school of Saint-Denis and not to that of Chartres lies in its color. The blue is of a peculiar celestial limpid quality, impossible to describe in words, but which will never be forgotten by one who has seen it in the western windows of Chartres, or in the Crucifixion window of Poitiers. Superb as is the color of the windows of the later school of Chartres, they never achieve quite this serenity and radiance. The drawing of the draperies confirms the impression that this panel must belong to the earlier school. There is a sharp distinction between the clinging conventional draperies of the twelfth century, beneath which the form of the nude figure is clearly felt (Fig. 3), and the naturalistic, heavier draperies of the thirteenth century (Fig. 5). Those of the "King of Bourges" (Fig. 1) clearly belong to the former category. A comparison of the draperies of Mr. Lawrence's figure (Fig. 1) with those of a bishop in the Sts. Gervasius and Protasius window at Le Mans (Fig. 2) will show how closely analogous is the treatment in the two cases.

It is also well known that the pure ornament in the school of

Saint-Denis was superior in quality and more abundant in quantity than in that of the school of Chartres. There is greater invention and delight in purely conventional decorations. Now it is impossible to study the superb rinceau on the back of Mr. Lawrence's panel without being convinced that a design of this exuberant richness and varied beauty could only have been produced in the twelfth century. Notice, for example, how different is the design in detail of the branches on the two sides and yet how satisfyingly symmetrical in general effect. This rinceau is, indeed, one of the richest in mediæval glass, and almost tempts me to question whether the panel may not come, not from Bourges but rather from the Southwest. It will be remembered that the glass of Poitiers was always remarkable for the beauty of its pure ornament. From the Crucifixion window of the cathedral to the grisaille foliage of Sainte-Radegonde there is evident a particular interest in the rinceaux and foliage.

Mr. Lawrence's panel presents numerous other points of close contact with well-known windows of the St.-Denis school. The drawing of the hair and of the eyes is very similar to that of the Sainte-Valerie in the Sts. Gervasius and Protasius window at Le Mans (Fig. 3). It will be noticed that in both cases the lines indicating the upper and lower eyelids are not brought together, especially at the outer corners. The closest analogy as regards details of drawing with Mr. Lawrence's panel is, however, to be found in the Virgin of Vendôme (Fig. 4), obviously contemporary with the celebrated Virgin in the Aureole, which in turn has long been recognized as a product of the school of Saint-Denis. In the Vendôme Virgin, the drawing of the eyebrows, the nose and chin is identical with that of the "King of Bourges." The two works must be the product, if not of the same painter, at least of the same atelier.

The chief difficulty offered by the panel is the tradition that it comes from Bourges. It is of very different style from the windows belonging to the school of Chartres in the cathedral of Bourges (Fig. 5), as a glance at the illustrations will show. The Lawrence panel must be a fragment of a Jesse-tree. The presence of a haloed king with a scroll in the background can hardly be otherwise explained. Now, so far as I can discover, there is no record that there ever existed a Jesse-tree window in the cathedral of Bourges, and the large dimensions, coupled with the high quality of the glass, make it difficult to suppose that this panel could have come from a

minor church. An indefinable something in the quality suggests to me Poitiers much more strongly than Bourges. However, it is a well-known fact that glass-painters, like other artists of the Middle Ages, were constantly moving about, and it is certainly no farther from Sens to Canterbury and York than from Poitiers or Vendôme to Bourges. What is certain is that this panel belongs to the school of Saint-Denis, and came from a Jesse-tree window closely related to those of Saint-Denis and Chartres.

THOMAS SPENCE DUCHÉ • BY W. ROBERTS

MY friend, Dr. H. Selfe Bennett, is to be congratulated on having resurrected a very interesting figure in early American art, about whom further details, biographical and artistic, are much to be desired. Like so many other artists of the period, Duché was almost as much English as American, so that if neither country can wholly claim him we may share the privilege conjointly. I should like to add a "footnote" to Dr. Bennett's article. Duché is noticed by Dunlap in his "History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States" (i., 229-30). He describes the grandfather as a Protestant refugee from France. It is possible that he was a relative of Gaspard de Vancy, an artist of much promise, on whom an exhaustive essay by M. Emile Delignières of Abbeville was printed in the *Paris Journal des Arts*, January 1, 1911. This is the Duché de Vancy who exhibited five pictures, Italian views and fancy subjects, at the Royal Academy of 1784—his London address was 168 Piccadilly—and then disappears entirely so far as the Academy is concerned. We know from M. Delignières that Duché de Vancy was associated with La Perouse in his voyage of discovery on the northwest coast of America and elsewhere, 1785, and the presumption is that he was lost in 1788 with all the other members of that expedition. One of Duché de Vancy's engraved pictures represents "La toilette des dames du Chili au bal"; so that even this artist has an American interest.

To return, however, to Thomas Spence Duché, one of his most ambitious pictures was the frontispiece to George Adams's "Essays on the Microscope," 1787, with the explanatory title of "Truth discovering to Time Science instructing her Children in the Improve-

ments on the Microscope." This large quarto volume, which was dedicated to George III, was published by the author at his shop at Tycho Brahe's Head, No. 60 Fleet Street. Adams, like his father, was mathematical instrument maker to George III, and notices of both will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. In the British Museum Print Room there is a copy of the print, and what looks like Duché's original design in pencil, but it was not until I recently acquired a copy of Adams's book that the provenance and title of the drawing and engraving were discovered. I am sending herewith this very fine engraving, on which the engraver's name is not given. In the Print Room of the British Museum there is another example of Duché's work, a fine half-length portrait of Charles Wildbore, Secretary to the Corporation of Trinity House for thirty-two years. Wildbore died on April 22, 1792, and this mezzotint of him, by J. Jones, was not published until May 20, 1794, two years after the death of the subject, and four years after that of the painter.

The Duchés would form the subject of an interesting volume in the hands of a competent historian. Three generations lived in England. The original *émigré* died here at the age of eighty-eight on September 28, 1788; his son, famous for many things in American history, was at one time chaplain to the Asylum in Lambeth and preacher at Bow Church, Cheapside; whilst T. S. Duché, the "young artist of very distinguished merit and an uncommon genius," as one of the papers described him, died on March 31, 1790. Whilst on the subject of Duché, it may be worth mentioning that another American who "found salvation" in England, James Peter Malcolm, F.S.A. (1767-1815), the engraver, was an intimate friend of the Duchés in Philadelphia. He was baptised by Jacob Duché the Second, and probably Malcolm and Duché were schoolfellows together. Malcolm's autobiographical sketch was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of May, 1815 (pp. 467-9), where will be found a reference to "Mr. Bembridge, a relation and brother student of Mr. West." West, it may be added, designed the frontispiece to each volume of the Rev. J. Duché's "Discourses," 1788.



THOMAS SPENCE DUCHÉ: TRUTH DISCOVERING TO TIME SCIENCE INSTRUCTING HER CHILDREN
IN THE IMPROVEMENTS ON THE MICROSCOPE.
From the engraving in George Adams's "Essays on the Microscope," London, 1787.

A MADONNA BY LAMBERT LOMBARD • BY FERN
HELEN RUSK

LAMBERT LOMBARD is one of those artists with whose work time has dealt most harshly. Honored and praised by his contemporaries and disciples, his glory seems to have vanished almost with his century, leaving little trace save the approbation of contemporary writers. Data in regard to his life also are meager. The approximate date of his birth is 1505. He spent all but a few years of his life in his native city, Liège. About 1533 he made a short visit to Germany, and near the same time his connection with Jean Gossaert, or Mabuse, seems to have been formed. With this master he apparently worked as aid or collaborator, rather than as pupil, for several years. In 1535 he returned to Liège, and in 1537 he had his cherished opportunity of going to Italy. His sojourn there, however, seems to have been of brief duration, and his return to Liège was final; for he remained and worked there until his death in 1566.

That Lombard was not particularly prolific as an artist is easily accounted for by his variety of interests. He spent much time as a diligent student of the history and theory of art. He was especially interested in the study of ancient art and literature, and he himself wrote a theoretical treatise on art, which has suffered the fate of most of his paintings. Only an interesting letter to Vasari remains as an example of his writings.

The present scarcity of Lombard's paintings is principally accounted for by his biographer, J. Helbig,¹ through two reasons. One of these is given by L. Abry, who wrote a little less than a century after the death of Lombard of the deterioration that was already at that time taking place in Lombard's paintings, due, Abry testifies, to a defective technical process employed by the artist. Some of his loveliest paintings were quite ruined by the scaling of the surface. Not all, however, were so lost. There were some still in the places for which they were painted at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Revolution came to plunder and destroy the monuments of Liège.

According to the testimony of Helbig, though drawings by Lombard, both signed and dated, remain, the authenticity of none

¹ J. Helbig, *La Peinture au Pays de Liège*, 1903.

of the paintings attributed to him to-day is attested by contemporary records, and no autograph painting is known to be extant. This condition gives a very elusive character to the study of the master's work, and renders especially important the presentation of a hitherto unnoticed painting by the artist, signed and dated. The painting in question (Fig. 1) is in the Brown University collection.¹ It is done in oil on panel (27 inches by 21 inches) and represents the Madonna enthroned, with a landscape at the sides. The Madonna is clad in a darkened blue robe and a deep, rich red mantle that falls in broad folds and is decorated by a carefully wrought jeweled border pattern. Over her head is draped a white cloth, one end of which she raises above the Child's head. The Child has only a white scarf lightly wrapped about his body. He is an attractive little infant, well-formed and full of animation. Characteristics to be noted in the type of the Madonna are her slender hands, wavy hair, and long, delicate face, whose expression is gracious and tender. The throne is decorated with marble columns surmounted by sculptured figures, personifying the Christian and Jewish dispensations. The landscape, extending into the distance under a sky filled with white clouds, is a quiet country scene, with trees, road, stream, bridge, mill and houses. The excellence of this landscape alone, quite modern in its sympathetic interpretation of nature, would furnish adequate grounds for Lombard's contemporary popularity. The signature and date, "L Lom 1557," are inscribed on the marble floor in the lower left corner of the panel. From the signed drawings, mentioned above, we find that Lombard's signature is very flexible. Sometimes the complete lettering is given, but frequently the name is written in abridged form, which varies from "L L" to "Lamb Lombard." The closest approximation to our signature is "L Lomb" on a drawing that is dated 1533.

In the Madonna panel, then, which is well preserved and shows no evidence of restoration, we have a valuable touchstone for the various attributions that have been made to Lombard.

Within the limits of this short study we shall attempt the examination of only two of these, and, unfortunately, not having seen the originals, the coloristic treatment and such technical criticism as depends upon acquaintance with the paintings themselves cannot be discussed.

¹ George Washington Harris bequest.



Fig. 1. LAMBERT LOMBARD: MADONNA.
Brown University, Providence, R. I.





Fig. 2. LAMBERT LOMBARD: CHRIST
TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER.
Glasgow Art Gallery.



Fig. 3. LAMBERT LOMBARD: ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS.
Imperial Art Gallery, Vienna.



Fig. 4. LAMBERT LOMBARD: MADONNA.
Glasgow Art Gallery.



Fig. 5. MABUSE: MADONNA WITH THE GRAPES.
Kaiser Friedrich Museum.



In the Glasgow Art Gallery is a panel representing Christ Taking Leave of His Mother (Fig. 2). The scene, which includes several apostles and holy women besides the two principal characters, is laid before an arched gateway and wall. The background is a landscape with an elaborate castle in the middle distance and a walled city beyond. The painting, formerly attributed to Patinir, bears the label in the Glasgow Gallery of Lambert Lombard, and a comparison with our signed Madonna shows sufficiently close similarity in the particulars common to the two subjects to justify the ascription. With the Madonna may be compared the Virgin and the woman behind her in the Glasgow picture. They have the same long, delicate face, small mouth and drooping eyelids. The broad folds of drapery are best seen in the robe of the Christ. In the background is a similar distant landscape with the same tree formations and lightly clouded sky. The buildings are, indeed, of a different variety, but that is due only to the choice of a different subject. I should like to call special attention to the castle, however, because of its relation to that in a picture to be discussed later.

Turning now to an Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig. 3) in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, ascribed by Helbig to Lombard, there is so little similarity to the signed Madonna that, unless we are willing to admit a most unusual range of variety in the master's work, we must reject this attribution. Helbig bases his ascription upon resemblance to other paintings which he ascribes to Lombard and upon general likeness to drawings by that master. (Unfortunately, he does not cite the drawings to which he has reference.) Only a cursory examination is needed to demonstrate the dissimilarity between the Vienna Adoration and the Brown University Madonna. Look at the short, broad, large-boned face of the Vienna Madonna beside the slender, delicate face in the Brown panel. The hands are altogether different, broad, with prominent joints. And surely the artist who painted this Child with puffy, ill-formed body and large awkward hands, could not have formed the charming babe in the other picture.

Two other attributions which Helbig makes to Lombard, the Holy Family in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna and Scenes from Genesis in the collection of Abbé Scheen of Wonck, of which we have not sufficiently good illustrations for judgment, are believed

by Helbig to stand or fall with that of the Adoration of the Shepherds.

It is to be hoped that the signed Madonna will serve not only as criterion for the attributions already made to Lombard, but that it may also be the means of restoring other Lombards, now ascribed to different masters, to their rightful owner. As a suggestion of the possibilities in this field, I offer a brief study of a Madonna in the Glasgow Gallery (Fig. 4), attributed to Mabuse, with whom, as we have seen, Lombard was for some time closely associated.¹ This panel has been attributed to a number of artists, among them, Van Orley and Jean Bellegambe of Douai. A practical recognition by art critics of its relationship to the painting of Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, which, as shown above, is justly attributed to Lombard, is discovered in the fact that the Glasgow Madonna, as well as Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, has been attributed to Patinir. Perhaps we should consider first the claim of the Glasgow Madonna to a place among the authentic works of Mabuse. The Madonna with the Grapes (Fig. 5) in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is a characteristic work of Mabuse and a fair example for comparison, because in some points, particularly in the arrangement of composition and the character of the Child, it shows much similarity to the Glasgow Madonna. But the Madonna types are very different. The face of the Glasgow Madonna is longer and more slender than that of the Madonna with the Grapes. This latter is the type that one continually finds in Mabuse's works; the lovely Morgan Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum is a familiar example. (We may add here a note of only parenthetical importance to the effect that the full-length figure of the Madonna is unusual with Mabuse, the half-length figure against a plain background being his favorite form of composition.) The most strongly determining factor, however, in marking the dissimilarity of the Glasgow Madonna to the works of Mabuse lies in the lack of soft gradations of light and shade so characteristic of that artist. The light strikes the group with full force, and there is but little or no use of slight modulations of sfumato to produce the exquisite modeling seen, for example, in the forehead of the Madonna with the Grapes. On the other hand, this is one of the points in which the Glasgow Madonna shows its

¹ Cf. catalogue of the Ambrosiana, No. 23: "*Gossaert (copia da Giovanni) detto Mabuse. L'originale trovasi a Glasgow, Mabuse, 1470-1541.*"

identity of origin with the Brown University Madonna. While contrasts of light and shade are not lacking, the delicate gradations of which Mabuse was master are not duplicated in either of these. The slender, gentle type of Madonna face, the character and arrangement of the Child, the treatment of the folds of drapery, and the appearance of various accessory details, such as sky and trees, are closely related in the two panels. The similarity between the castle in the background and that in the other Glasgow painting discussed, that is, the Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, is also striking.

In conclusion, I shall only mention one other Madonna, in the Prado Museum, whose attribution to Mabuse is doubtful and whose similarity to the Lombard types is close. It represents the Virgin with the Infant Jesus seated in an elaborate vestibule. This panel is supposed to be the one attributed to Mabuse that was offered by the city of Louvain to Philippe II in thanks for remission of heavy taxes in 1578. But the fantastic quality of the architecture and the coldness of the whole treatment lead Fierens-Gevaert to doubt the attribution. The details of drapery and of architecture, as well as the type of the Madonna, furnish grounds for considering the picture in connection with the Lombard works.

With the aid, then, of the Brown University panel, the only known signed painting by its author, the study of the activity of Lambert Lombard as a painter may be much more fruitful than has heretofore been possible.

THEODORE ROBINSON · BY ELIOT CLARK

THE sudden and radical changes of the modern world are nowhere more manifest than in the realm of pictorial art. The extremist of one generation becomes the conservative of the next. In France we have seen the birth of succeeding expressions which, repeated throughout the Western world, have quite revolutionized the pictorial viewpoint.

The discoveries of the impressionists which so astonished and disconcerted the Parisian public were echoed in America and received with the same incredulity. Theodore Robinson was one of the first on this side of the water to present the new tendency. Born at Irasburg, Vermont, in 1852, his early life was, however, spent at Evansville, Wisconsin. Having received his early instruction in art at Chicago and in the National Academy Schools in New York, he went to Europe at the age of twenty-two in the year 1874, that year made memorable in the annals of French art by the first collective exhibition of the painters who thereafter were known as the Impressionists. Studying for a time under Carolus-Duran and Gérôme, he later became interested in the ideas of the younger school, and quitting the studio, went to Giverny, where Monet, several years earlier, had settled. This was the decisive step in the career of Theodore Robinson. Although he returned to America in 1880 and remained until 1884, it was not until 1892 that he definitely settled here. Among the younger artists he found many sympathetic and receptive minds, notably the group at the Society of American Artists, of which he was made a member in 1881. It was there he received the Webb Prize in 1890, the Shaw Prize in 1892, and where most of his later pictures were exhibited. But although his work was appreciated by his few sympathetic associates, he unhappily did not enjoy a wider recognition and was burdened with the more material problems of livelihood. He died on April 2, 1896.

The significance of Theodore Robinson in American art is two-fold. It is not alone that he left a number of pictures, the artistic value of which is undoubted, but also because he was an important influence in disseminating the principles of the impressionistic painters in America, which since his advent have become so universally recognized and appreciated. He occupies much the same



THEODORE ROBINSON: IN THE SUN.
Collection of Mr. Samuel T. Shaw, New York.



THEODORE ROBINSON: ON THE CANAL.
Collection of Mr. Samuel T. Shaw, New York.





THEODORE ROBINSON: GARDEN AT GIVERNY.
Collection of Mr. Samuel T. Shaw, New York.



THEODORE ROBINSON: VIEW ON THE SEINE.
Collection of Mr. Samuel T. Shaw, New York.



place relative to this movement as William Morris Hunt did as the apostle of the Barbizon school.

When first seen in this country, Robinson's pictures created much heated discussion. The naturalists could see in them nothing of nature, the romanticists could see in them nothing of romance. To-day we have assimilated the newer viewpoint, we see the impressionistic movement in retrospect; what seemed strikingly individual peculiarities have merged into a general tone, and a new world has been opened to the vision. The question we would ask about Theodore Robinson to-day is quite different from that confronting us when his work was produced. If then one was inclined to speak of individual eccentricity and personal peculiarities, we would now ask what new element did he introduce, what personal message did he bring from the Old World other than as a disciple of a foreign school. The question is not easily answered and would tend to illustrate the fact that truths are more general in their manifestations than particular. Unhappily, Theodore Robinson died before his message was mature, and he left the promise of much unfulfilled realization.

We have accustomed ourselves only too readily to think that the impressionistic painter was untrained and undisciplined, and, in short, that he had traveled the way of least resistance. Theodore Robinson had the inestimable advantage of sound academical schooling, which not only gave him the power of visual realization but also a thorough knowledge of his craft. The traditional training, however, dealt largely with absolute problems. Working in the studio from the model, the eye of the painter is concentrated upon a limited area, the conditions are constant, the light and color more or less static, the range of values entirely within the limitations of the palette. Out-of-doors, on the contrary, the angle of vision is wide, the effect in its various manifestations of light and color is ever changing, the intensity of the light far surpasses the limitations of mere pigment. The problem is entirely different, and it is this new problem which the so-called Impressionists sought to solve.

Theodore Robinson brought to this task a receptive mind, a sympathetic understanding, a sensitive appreciation and a well-trained hand. If the principles of the Impressionists drew him to Monet, it was Monet who drew him to nature. He took over-much of the truth of the new method and avoided its mannerisms. It was

upon this truth that he built and with which he created his artistic expression. Thus his eyes opened to the beauty of the great out-of-doors, to the light and sunshine that clothes the landscape in vibrant array, changing ever as the light changes and ever beautiful.

The later pictures of Theodore Robinson were painted directly from nature. The colors of twilight have disappeared, the contemplative reverie has vanished, it is the direct vision, the living verity of light that is recorded. In consequence, his pictures have that sense of spontaneity and intimacy which is produced only from first-hand observation, that decisive and buoyant touch which is the result of the exhilaration of the moment, the happy record of a newly discovered world. His color is cool, the scale of values is deliberately limited, his sense of the relation of light and dark is instinctive. Robinson did not allow the theory of broken color to become merely a mannerism, and although he delighted in the beauty of closely related harmonies, the color does not confuse the essential and significant form but rather enhances it. As a painter his brush was sensitive and artistic, his touch delicate but deliberate. Although he painted with a full brush, he wisely avoided the too heavy impasto which later led to so much meaningless texture. If he was too much of a painter to thus distort technique and disguise inability, he, on the other hand, was never tempted to parade his craft in affected display of clever brushwork. He was a painter of charm, not of power; his conception was refined, not forceful.

Robinson painted the figure with structural understanding and conviction, but in his later work devoted himself to landscape, in which the figure, if introduced, plays a secondary part. Although he eliminated the associative idea in the traditional sense of the story-telling picture, we must not conclude that his pictures are without human interest. He was, in truth, a new Romanticist, expressing the illusion of sense and sensibility, and although he discarded the old association of ideas, he put new ones in their place, which in the joy and intensity of his expression he unconsciously did not think of as ideas. True, this newly revealed vision could not be as readily illustrated by the poets of the past as the older association of ideas, but in this respect the impressionistic painters preceded the poets of their time. Poets in paint, the theme of which they sang was sunshine. The joy of being out-of-doors, the freedom from constraint, the sense of well-being, the love of fellowship, these emotions,

although not so readily put into words as the more melancholy and morbid thoughts of the so-called Romantic poets (who really limited the very sense of the word romance), these exhilarating and life-giving emotions we see not only in the character of the subject portrayed, the way in which it was seen, but in the manner in which it was painted. The angle of vision is limited, the eye must take in only that in which it is immediately interested, the associative thought at once becomes more intimate. We do not see, as with Millet, the peasant alone under a boundless sky, seeking salvation through daily toil, but rather a young girl oblivious to the rest of the world and its struggles, lying in the open sunshine. Even the surrounding hamlet has disappeared. It is a girl basking in the sunshine, who to the painter's eye has become a revelation in color. Or the village of Giverny lies nestled under the hillside, a picture in which the roofs of the houses break the valley background in well-balanced design, that gives one the impression, apart from its purely pictorial quality, of French sociability and the fair land of contentment of an earlier day. Thus the idea becomes embodied in the design and the decorated surface assumes a double significance.

Theodore Robinson was essentially a child of his time. His sensitive and receptive nature at once made him responsive to the newly awakened vision of the objective world. He was not only a modern, but an American. A modern because he was quickened by the life of his time, an American because he assimilated rather than created its expression. Most of his work was done in France under the immediate influence of Monet. But the teaching of his master was not followed without due reflection, consideration and personal assimilation. Thus his pictures never savor of the imitator. Of absolutely sound and sincere artistic integrity, Robinson expressed himself and reflected only that part of the teaching of Monet which had become a part of himself. More artistic, in the limited sense of that term, than Monet, with perhaps a clearer observation of the objective and a more accurate and acute representation of it, Robinson has not that larger monumental quality, that impressive placing of objects which adds to their significance, that fulness of form and color, as we see it exemplified in the great works of the master of Giverny. Robinson's style is on a smaller scale, his best work is seen in small canvases, pictures that have the intimate charm of the skilled technician, the nice feeling for well-balanced

masses, and a charming decorative arrangement. If he did not interpret nature and through synthetical organization rearrange her forms for their purely aesthetical and emotional significance, he transcribed his visual impression with most convincing and telling effects. That the influence of France had not limited his vision or formulized his expression is seen in the pictures painted after his return to America, wherein we note no reminiscence of French landscape but a clear perception of the characteristic elements of the subject before him. This is well exemplified in "On the Canal" in the collection of Mr. Samuel T. Shaw, a larger replica of which is in the Philadelphia Academy. Here we see the brilliant coloring of a clear summer day with light flying clouds, an effect typical of our Eastern states but seldom seen in northern France. Robinson has rendered it with unerring accuracy and an almost primitive frankness. It has the unaffected and uncultivated simplicity of American landscape, but the artistic eye has observed the beauty of the commonplace and characterized it in a masterful manner. The wooden fence, the telegraph poles, the red bridge, the simple farm houses have been made elements of a picturesque pattern which at the time was thought very unbecoming and unconventional. But Robinson used these elements to build up a well ordered and balanced composition in which only the essential characteristics are delineated. To see thus, in a comprehensive and understanding way, and to express this perception is in truth a revelation, a kind of seeing which is far removed from what is lightly spoken of as merely imitating nature. It is in this sense that Robinson was a creator and has helped us to revalue and revisualize the objective world.

THE EARLY AND THE LATER WORK OF ARTHUR B. DAVIES • BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

THE ingenuity of Mr. Davies' invention invests his painting with unusual interest. His landscape presents many original and engaging patterns in which the imagination threads secret pathways of delight, and his figure pieces delicately suggest in design ideas that are frequently as unsubstantial as dreams and as lovely. The eclecticism that is evident in his work in no wise interferes with the individual taste observable in its elaboration or the personal quality of its appeal. Many of his later canvases are attractive illustrations of moments of classic enchantment—shepherds piping to their flocks upon the heights of Parnassus, nymphs dancing in the Vale of Tempe or maybe a group of unicorns gravely regarding some unfamiliar vista of terrestrial grandeur. Keats' description of the relief upon the Grecian Urn is the immortalization of that significant beauty one glimpses in his paintings.

His earlier canvases are generally richer in color than his later works and embody a more humble and more human and therefore more understandable presentation of various manifestations of life illuminated with a touch of recognizable realism. Their spontaneity is too obvious to allow of their escaping attention and their rare simplicity too intriguing to permit of their being neglected for the more calculated and hence more compelling effectiveness of his subsequent creations. In the *Girl at the Fountain*, which is no more than a mere sketch, and a very early production, one realizes definitely the sense of seeing a child actually engaged in the performance of a homely act. The intellectual enjoyment of the picture is established by the sincerity of the study. It is one of those infrequent examples of a perfectly adjusted sketch in which the reserve of drawing, design and technic results in a balance of exquisite artistic finish nicely calculated to just that suggestion of the poetry of life that colors a drab experience with the richness of romance.

The *Violin Girl*, framed as a water-color in a wide paper mat when recently shown, is an early picture very different in execution and effect. A composition as convincing in its indication of actuality as the earlier picture of the *Girl at the Fountain*, the figure is drawn with extreme care and finished with a degree of precision that is unique in his art. The rich tonality of its depths of

sensuous and satisfying color achieves an effect possible only to the medium as it produces the emotional equivalent of music in similar harmonies of sensitive interpretation. The pose, restricted as it is by the action, is relieved of any semblance of the commonplace by a conscientious elimination of all superfluous triviality of detail, and the picture is made really memorable by a subtile rendering of facial expression through which a definite realization of the emotion is communicated to the spectator. The work has something of the simplicity of design and of the elegance and refinement of color that one associates with Florentine painting of the Renaissance, without any suggestion of it, however, in the more obvious and essential characteristics of technic or intention. Color more eloquent than that in this picture one seldom encounters.

Several of Mr. Davies' finer decorative panels with figures have something of the supreme refinement of the sculptured friezes of antiquity and as little relation to actual life. They are superlatively attractive representations of the immortal beauties of fable rather than of fact, and to admit that they continue to appeal to certain subconscious predilections for what one may term art for art's sake long after one's first enthusiasm over them has definitely passed, is to acknowledge an approximation to artistic perfection that becomes a patent and permanent interest upon fuller acquaintance.

The development of Mr. Davies' technic is apparent in a consistent effort to realize in his line with relatively flat color the utmost of pictorial representation. It is a method as difficult as it is direct and provides for little more in the way of alteration or elaboration than water color. On the other hand, it presents possibilities of realizing beauties of the brush that are inevitably lost in the manipulation of mere paint. Working in this way is practically free-hand drawing in thin color with the brush and one must needs be a consummate draughtsman to attempt it with any hope of success. In what he has now to show there is noticeable, at times, a fluffiness or woolliness of pigment that veils the very line through which he essays to establish the perfection and the permanence of a vision that informs his pictures with unique and individual charm.

A very expert and extremely facile craftsman, his latest works have more the appearance of elaborate exercises in drawing than of anything that can be reasonably described as authentic artistic creation. Without any sensible meaning and lacking sufficient vital



ARTHUR B. DAVIES: THE VIOLIN GIRL.



ARTHUR B. DAVIES: GIRL AT THE FOUNTAIN.

Collection of Miss L. P. Bliss, New York.



ARTHUR B. DAVIES: CLOTHED IN DOMINION.

Collection of Miss L. P. Bliss, New York.

significance to even suggest that which they lack, these pictures display, nevertheless, a degree of skill expended in fruitless experiments in the intricacies of linear design that might very possibly suffice to express living thoughts in some such way as to produce real masterpieces. One is constantly aware, in looking at them, of Mr. Davies' prodigious delight in the display of his facility, but in so much as one looks for anything more than fine drawing, color or design in a picture they are consistently disappointing. If, indeed, these works have any meanings at all, they are entirely lost in a style of composition at once too involved for the human understanding and too evidently egotistic and personal to permit of any permanent intellectual enjoyment even if they were intelligible. To represent any number of exquisitely satisfying human figures so muddled together in elaborate denial of the most elementary requirements of grace, or so twisted and tortured in unnecessary and unnatural contortions as to recall nothing if not man's animal ancestry, is hardly evidence of an impulse likely to add anything of lasting importance to the art of to-day. I do not know of a single recognized masterpiece in pictorial art that does not either express an idea or convey a suggestion of something other than the mere ability of the artist. It is precisely these ideas and these suggestions that enliven with interest and inform with vitality those paintings of every school and of every master that really achieve greatness.

A MADONNA BY JOSEF ISRAELS · BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

AS a young man, in Amsterdam, where he had gone to study in the studio of Jan Kruseman, an academic painter of considerable repute at the time, Josef Israels first fell under the spell of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century and particularly of Rembrandt—the greatest of them all. Rembrandt's vision and his method continued to exert a more and more positive influence upon him as the years came and went until, in his old age, the evidence of it became explicit in a number of impressive canvases that definitely mark the finest expression of Dutch life in nineteenth century art.

In the beginning a more or less commonplace practitioner in that he illustrated rather than interpreted the life that he chose for his subject matter, he gradually emancipated himself from the tyranny of the obvious and came to concentrate upon the nobler and finer aspects of human experience and to simplify his composition by the elimination of obtrusive detail. Eventually he sacrificed everything but the essential in his pictures, illuminating the simple grandeur of that with a new revelation of loveliness as delicate and as touching as the subtle lights and shadows of the sensitive chiaroscuro in which he visibly enshrined the people he pictured.

His art has not the magisterial quality of Rembrandt's, so pronounced in groups like the Anatomy Lesson and the Syndics and in portraits like the Noble Slav, but, on the other hand, it represents, sympathetically and therefore powerfully, just those commoner types the interpretation of whose individualities is perhaps almost as great an accomplishment in a way, and endears him to a public too conscious of the poetry of life to underestimate the beauty of such an artistic presentation of it. If his work sometimes seems, at first sight, sentimental, the impression seldom survives an intimate acquaintance with it, resulting as it must in recognition of the sincerity of his understanding of the humble joys and sorrows of the poor and of the truth of his translation of their human appeal into the vernacular of art. He ennobled the virtues of the lowly and in so doing appreciably uplifted the whole of the civilization of his day. It is not a mean distinction to have rediscovered the forgotten poetry of the poor and to have brought it again to the attention of a materialistic

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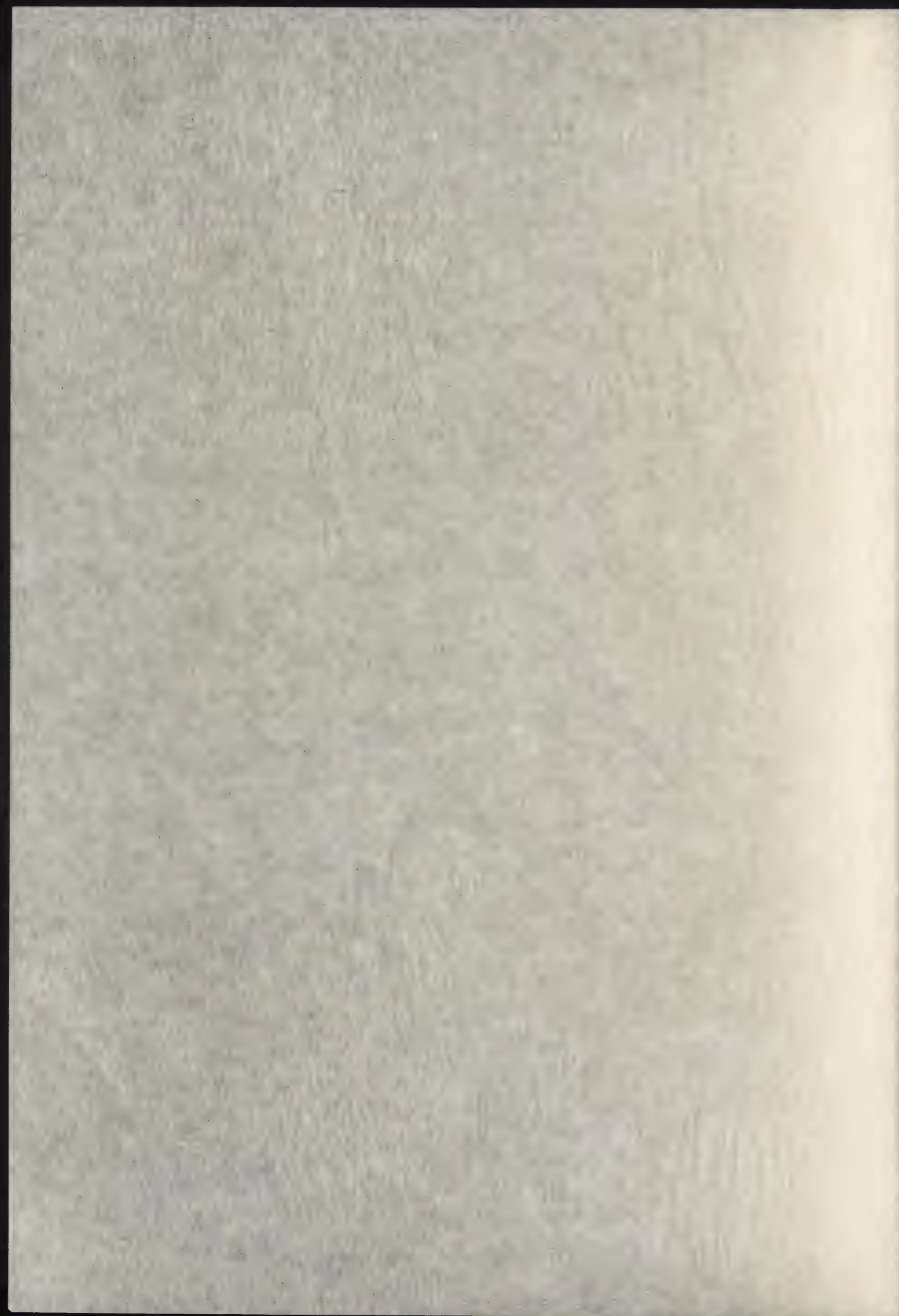
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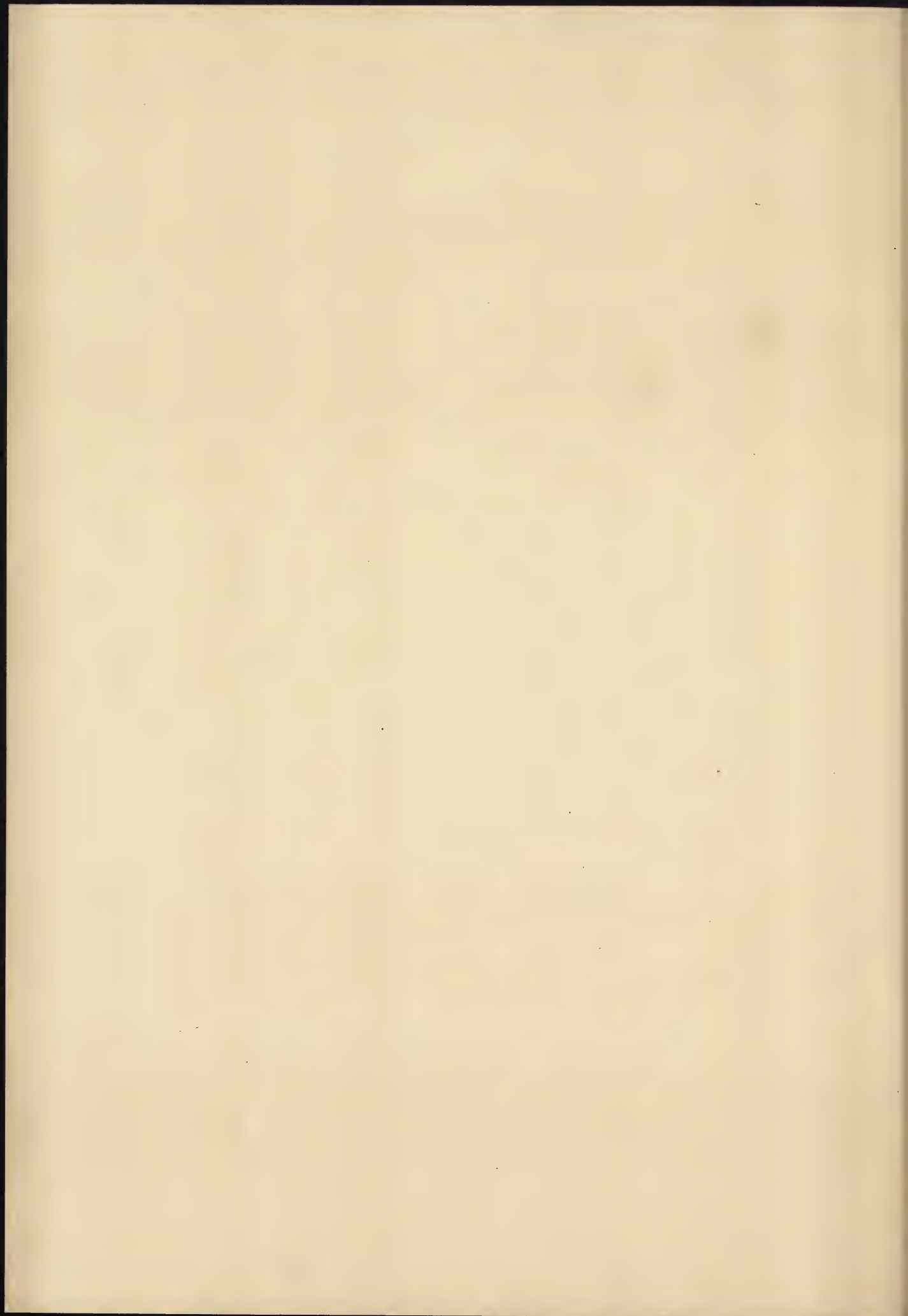
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JOSEF ISRAELS: THE MADONNA OF THE COTTAGE.
Collection of Mr. Harold Somers, Brooklyn, N. Y.



age, nor to have rescued from oblivion a little of the wonder of life of which so much is lost in the pursuit of worldly success.

A few types and a few themes sufficed for the best of Israels' canvases. Old age and young motherhood are the subjects of his best works, and each of his visualizations of these experiences is differentiated from all others by some instinctive emotional interest it alone embodies. Of many variations of the latter theme one of the most charming is *The Madonna of the Cottage* owned by Mr. Harold Somers of Brooklyn. As will be seen from the reproduction it is a very late picture in which nothing is in evidence except what is absolutely necessary. The light and shadow are so arranged as to emphasize those characteristics of the composition that make its appeal so persuasive. Of color it has just enough to provide a minor harmony to the accompaniment of which its human interest is translated into a visible embodiment of spiritual significance. So much of the indescribable emotion of the incident is inherent in the actual pictorial record of the moment that one is sensibly uplifted by its sacred symbolism. That the actors in the homely household drama are ordinary everyday types with which we are familiar makes all the more real to us this magnificent representation of the miracle of motherhood. It is a picture that moves the ignorant no less powerfully than the educated and in so doing justifies its merited distinction as a veritable masterpiece of graphic art.

A COLONIAL SILVER CREAM JUG • BY HOLLIS FRENCH

EXAMPLES of our early American silver which have escaped the melting pot appear occasionally, only to disappear almost immediately into some private collection whence they seldom emerge, unless brought out by the enterprise of a museum which may be arranging for an exhibition.

To paraphrase a well-known saying, "Its future, at least, is secure," for it will be indexed and catalogued and henceforth the collectors' eyes will be upon it and seldom lose sight of it.

Could one but know the history of these bits from the past, how much more interesting they would become. Seldom it is that the family tradition can be traced, for, as a rule, the piece passes

through a dealer's hands and its past is automatically blotted out. Even if one finds out the family from whom it came the lapse of several generations rather effectually diminishes the information about a piece, but occasionally it bears upon itself clues to its past, which one can sometimes partly unravel.

Such is the cream jug shown in the illustration and found recently in Newport. It is but $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, weighs 3 oz. 18 dwt. and is of a well-known type, popular between 1730 and 1760, having three bandy legs supporting a pear-shaped body with a serrated mouth. The jug has a long lip, the handle being solid and of the double-scroll type.

Types date pieces to a certain extent, but style in Colonial days did not make the kaleidoscopic changes that it does today, and with a form so popular as this jug was, it is impossible to be precise. A pitcher similar in design to this one was made by William Swan, who died in 1734, and as the style was a popular one with Revere, who died in 1810, the range for speculation as to date is a wide one. This pitcher could not, however, have been made after 1758 when its maker, Jacob Hurd, died.

As a rule, Colonial silver was undecorated, the simple outlines of the well-formed pieces apparently appealing to the eye of those times more than if the surface were covered with decorations.

Inscriptions are, of course, occasionally met. Ciphers were put on once in a while, and coats-of-arms, when a family had one, were added at times.

The ample decoration on this jug affords further clew to the piece, for it bears on the front the well-known arms of that famous Loyalist family the Vassalls; azure, in chief a sun in splendor, in base a chalice or, crest a full-rigged ship, sails furled. These punning coats were much the fashion at one time in England and her colonies, and in this case with *vas-sol* on the shield and a vessel as a crest, a double play on the family name is in evidence.

To which member of this family the piece belonged it is probably now impossible to determine, but the engraving on one side of another full-rigged ship at anchor in a small harbor and firing a salute would indicate that its owner had interests in shipping, and hence it might have been the property of Colonel Henry Vassall, whose inventory showed that he possessed a "cream pitcher" and



JACOB HURD: A COLONIAL SILVER CREAM JUG.



whose interests in plantations in Jamaica and Antigua were at one time very large.

Henry Vassall was born on the family plantation in Jamaica in 1721 and spent his early life there. When a young man he was sent to Boston, attracted no doubt by its superior social and educational advantages. As an inheritor of a considerable fortune with a tropical romance about it, he was considered a good deal of a beau. His requirements were, however, considerable and in his marriage to Penelope, daughter of the very rich Isaac Royal, he perhaps had an eye to the dowry.

He spent his time between the West Indies and Boston, being when in the Colonies at his great house still standing on Brattle Street in Cambridge. Here he entertained royally and, if tradition is to be believed, was fond of giving rather late parties where cards and wine were not frowned upon. As a wag of the times deduced on observing the family arms of the goblet and the sun, "The bearers thereof were accustomed to drink wine by daylight."

Notwithstanding these habits, the Colonel was a strict church member and forward in all good works. Due perhaps to absenteeism and changing conditions, his fortune and that of his wife dwindled, though his demands for money did not, and the family found themselves involved from time to time in considerable debt.

At the early age of forty-eight Colonel Vassall died, leaving an estate which was stripped and mortgaged. At the outbreak of the war the Colony seized what was left of his property, and his widow suffered in common with other Loyalists until her death some years after.

The Vassall family arms appear on a paten given in 1730 by Henry's father, Leonard, to Christ Church, Cambridge, and on a tankard given to Harvard College by his brothers, Leonard and John, in 1729, and they are also found on a can in a private collection in Boston, as well as on a monument in King's Chapel of that city.

A relic of such a family which was scattered by the Revolutionary War and whose property was sequestered by the Colonial government, the little jug bears mute testimony to the life of that time, and is doubly interesting on that account.

The family of its maker, Jacob Hurd, is, however, more fortunate in leaving a name better known to-day than that of the Vassalls, for, staunch patriots as they were, they have survived in

their handicraft as well as by reputation, and a brief notice of them may not be out of place.

Jacob, familiarly known as Captain Hurd, was born in Charlestown in 1702 and died in Roxbury in 1758. He was elected constable of Boston in 1731, but declined to serve. He was very prominent in the militia, rising to be captain of the Boston company. While working at his trade he resided at Pudding Lane. He married Elizabeth Mason and had two sons, Nathaniel, born in 1729, who died, probably unmarried, in 1773, and who left his tools to his brother Benjamin (1739-1781). Both sons were silversmiths, the latter marrying Priscilla Crafts and living in Roxbury.

Of Benjamin's silver few pieces have been found, but Nathaniel's are noted for extremely neat workmanship and for the rather remarkable engraving in which he excelled. He was perhaps better known as an engraver, and many of his works are highly prized by collectors.

Jacob's daughter, Elizabeth, married the silversmith, Daniel Henchman of Boston, 1730-1775, and it is considered probable that he was an apprentice of Jacob's.

Of Captain Hurd's work much is known, as will be realized from the statement that seventy-seven pieces of his were shown in an exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston a few years ago. His range was wide, and examples of almost every kind of the silversmith's craft have been found with his mark upon it. He delighted in engraving, as is evidenced by the many coats-of-arms upon his silver and by other insignia and patterns that they bear. At least one engraving bearing his name has been found. This is a well-executed copy from Copley's painting, "The Nativity," indicating that his son Nathaniel came naturally by his talent for the engraver's art and probably received his instruction from his father.

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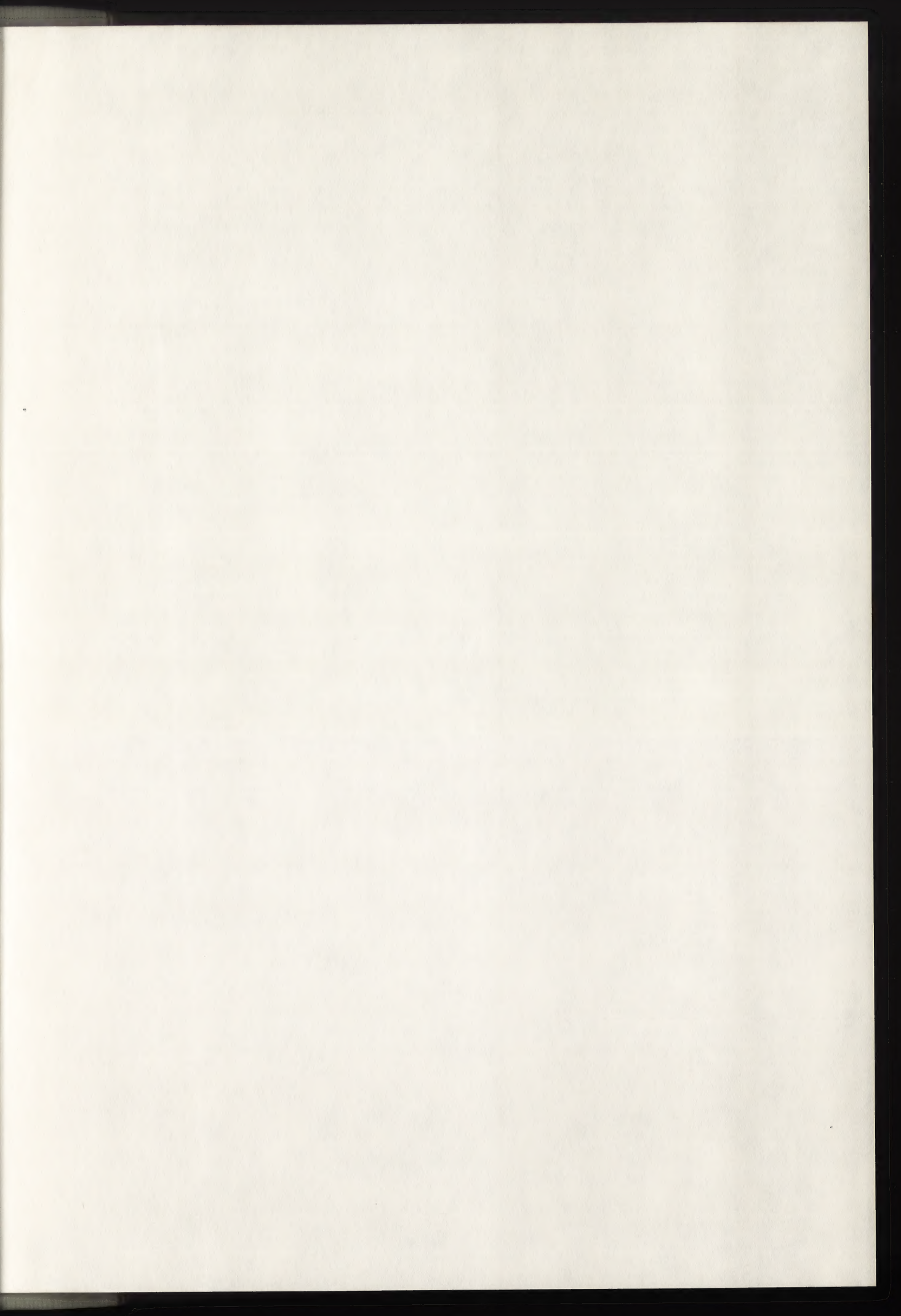
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